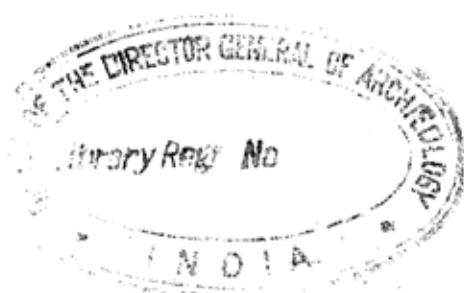


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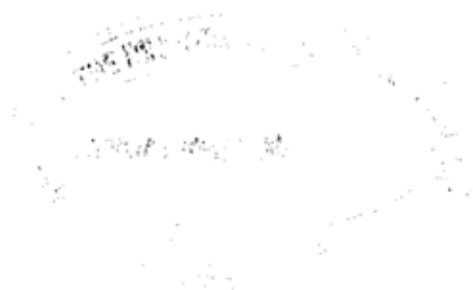
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ROMAN LONDON



BY THE SAME AUTHOR

ROMAN YORK

THE LEGIONARY HEADQUARTERS
AND COLONIA OF EBORACUM

204 pages

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A MONUMENT TO THE MEMORY OF A GLADIATOR ERECTED BY HIS WIFE, MARTIAE
Found in Tottenham Court Road (Guildhall Museum).

The dagger and gladiator's trident were found in Southwark, the likely place for the amphitheatre.
(Guildhall Museum). The small bronze figure of a barbarian with a shield was also found in London.

ROMAN LONDON

BY GORDON HOME

WITH A CHRONOLOGY COMPILED BY EDWARD FOORD



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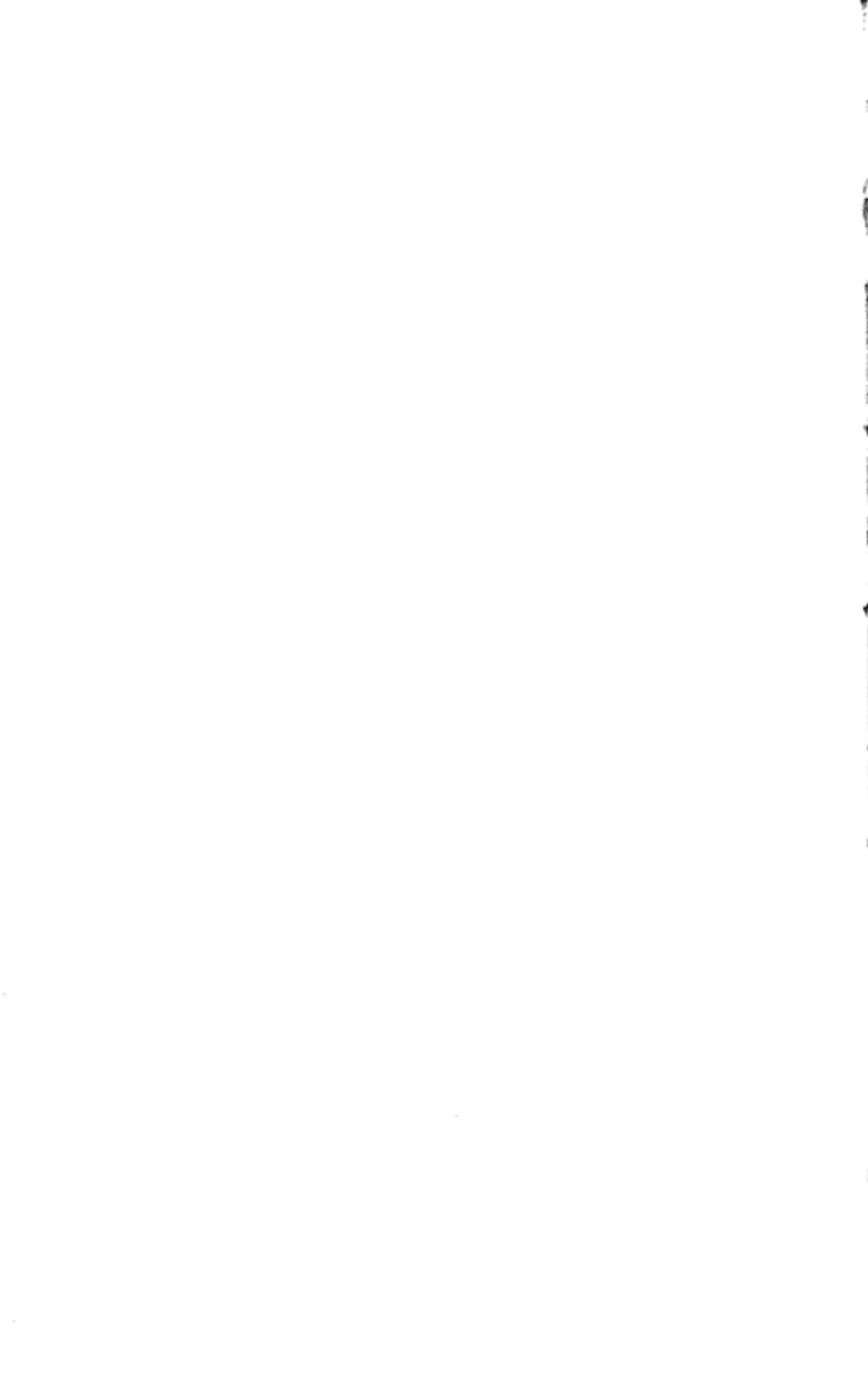
TO THE MEMORY OF
CHARLES ROACH SMITH

1807-1890

BY WHOSE ENLIGHTENED LABOURS, EXTENDED OVER MANY YEARS, DURING A PERIOD OF PROFOUND INDIFFERENCE TO THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF THE CAPITAL, MUCH LIGHT WAS SHED ON LONDON IN THE ROMAN PERIOD AND MANY VALUABLE RELICS OF THAT AGE SAVED FOR POSTERITY

AND TO PERFECTA





PREFACE

THIS book is the first attempt to give a full and connected history of London during the period when Britain formed a part of the Roman Empire. The materials for such a work appear at first to be inadequate for the putting together of anything approaching a continuous narrative, but when the fragments are carefully built up there is enough to enable the reader to obtain some idea of the growth of the Romano-British capital and of the part it played during five centuries.

Those who would write the history of London from its beginnings are confronted with the greatest difficulties imaginable, owing to the fact that the whole of the original site has been built upon from an early date, and that since then successive ages have rebuilt with ever deepening foundations so that the ancient deposits have been removed or so much disturbed that the archæologist of to-day is too often unable to obtain any reliable information from builders' excavations, which so frequently appear to offer chances of elucidating the problem. It is also a melancholy task to have to record the fact that, as a rule, the digging operations of the building contractor are seldom closely watched, and very few sectional drawings of the deposits revealed have been made.

The fact that London is a Celtic name, and the references of early historians to its consequence as a port long before the Claudian conquest in A.D. 43, satisfy me that there was a thriving settlement on the spot before Britain became a Roman province.

From the sack of London by Boudicca to about the year 286 there are no direct references to London. Evidently history was not being made at the prosperous capital of Britannia. I take this period as being one of uninterrupted growth during which the place grew into a city of great importance in the second rank of the cities of the Empire.

In writing of the decline I have considered such evidence, historical and archæological, as exists and, without prejudices in any direction, I have come to the conclusion that Roman London had continuous existence through the period of the English or Anglo-Saxon invasions. I have weighed very carefully the evidence collected and most reasonably presented by Mr Edward Foord in his remarkable book, *The Last Age of Roman Britain*, and I believe that he has arrived nearer to the truth than any other historian. There is a tendency for those who write on this period to accept, with a curious lack of care, certain statements made by those who try to arrive at dates through the discovery of coins on Romano-British sites. Mr Foord has questioned these somewhat ill-considered conclusions, which have been reached by taking the date of the last coin discovered on a site as approximately the year when it ceased to be occupied by or under the control of a Roman or Romano-British administration. This somewhat unintelligent interpretation of coin-finds, which has left out the important questions of (1) how long it took for newly minted money to reach a site, (2) for how long the coins were in use, (3) the tendency of those who hoard coins to select always those in the best condition, (4) that gold coins are very rarely found in a worn state, and (5) what

circumstances existed for retarding or entirely preventing the arrival of new coinage at a particular place during certain periods, has been almost unquestioningly accepted by archæologists and historians in recent years.

Mr Foord drew my attention to this matter some years ago, and I have had ample time and opportunity in which to test the soundness of his opinions, with the result that I am inclined to regard as unreliable all the dating of events from coin-finds which does not take into the fullest consideration the material considerations to which attention has been called by this historian.

I have no doubt that Mr Foord's conclusions will not be accepted at once by the school of archæologists which has been working on the unscientific method I have mentioned, and that on this account certain suggestions in my chapter on the last days of Roman London will be unacceptable to those who find themselves unwilling to abandon an accustomed attitude of mind on the subject. I am, however, quite convinced that history and archæology share the debt which I owe to Mr Foord for having brought new light to bear on this important question. The help which he has given to me in the writing of this book I acknowledge with no little gratitude.

Although I am an archæologist, I have made no attempt in these pages to make the volume an archæological work of reference. I have included no lists of coins or of potters' stamps, nor have I given detailed accounts of all the various discoveries on Roman sites throughout the walled area of London. To do this would have defeated the object of the book, which is to use archæology as a supplement to history and to

tell as fully as possible the whole story of the rise and decline of the Roman city. I have, however, collected together for the first time, I believe, all the Greek and Roman inscriptions found in London. They are placed at the end of the book in front of the index. Further than this I have made a map of the environs of London during the Roman period. In my endeavours to show the roads within a radius of 25 miles I was brought up against the fact that there is still a very great deal of spadework to be done before a map of this character can be at all definite or complete. If the Archæological Societies of the counties concerned were to make the necessary searches and trial trenches there can be little doubt that much would be ascertained.

The plan of Roman London is my own compilation based on my own knowledge, all the archæological reports which I have studied, and also the *Victoria County History of London*. It indicates, as far as I have been able to trace them, the chief sites where Roman objects have been discovered. I hope that in subsequent editions I may have opportunities for making many additions and corrections to what must of necessity be incomplete at present.

I am glad to take this opportunity of thanking all those who in various ways helped me in my researches. In particular I would mention Mr Reginald A. Smith of the British Museum, Mr Henry Dewey of the Geological Museum, Mr G. F. Lawrence of the London Museum, Mr Quinton Waddington, Mr Walter Johnson, Dr Philip Norman, and Mr Louis G. C. Clarke of the Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge.

To Sir Charles Oman I am particularly grateful for

his kindness in reading the proofs and for a number of valuable suggestions.

The publishers of the *Victoria County History of England and Wales* have been kind enough to allow me to use the illustrations which appear on pp. 172, 195 and 204, all from Volume I. of the *History of London*.

It is my hope that this book will stimulate interest in the five centuries when London was a city of the Roman Empire and when its citizens, irrespective of race, were proud to call themselves Romans. Perhaps it is not too much to hope that a day will come when the Corporation will take a keener interest in this earliest period of London's history, and then it may be that sufficient funds will be available to provide more adequate accommodation for the rapidly growing collection of Roman objects in its possession.

GORDON HOME

November 1925

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FOLDING PLAN OF ROMAN LONDON *At end of book*

ROMAN LONDON

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF LONDON

THE conformation of Britain and the position of the Thames estuary in relation to the Continent were the governing influences which brought about the beginnings of London. There are, and have been, cities which have sprung into existence at the dictate of a single will, or of a powerful government, to achieve some special purpose. Such cities may flourish for a period, but, with the passing away of the temporary conditions which led to their establishment, they shrink, and have often disappeared from the map save as sites of antiquarian interest. Places of this type were represented in ancient Persia by Persepolis ("Persia City"), which was simply an artificial royal centre created by Darius the Great. Alexander established numerous towns named after himself, but only one of them grew to the stature of a city of the first rank. Notable examples in Roman times are afforded by Aquileia in Italy, Italica in Spain, which dwindled to insignificance in the first century; Caesarea in Palestine, and Thamugadi (Timgad), and Volubilis in Africa. A good example in mediaeval times is Aigues-Mortes, the artificial creation of St Louis of France, and, coming to the eighteenth century, yet another is found in Peter the Great's famous, but ill-advised venture of St Petersburg (Peterburg or Petrograd).

Another and very common type of city is that which has such great national importance that under civilised conditions it endures, but hardly reaches a position of world-wide consequence. Examples of this class are Bourges, Exeter, York, Burgos, Pavia, and Magdeburg.

The last and most important class of cities consists of those which are so favoured by position and circumstances that so long as commerce and industry endure they must continue to be great centres of activity and trade. Of this type is London.

The consideration of the position it occupies is therefore of paramount importance. In the first place, it was at the point where a great estuary, facing the Continent, narrowed to become a highway to the interior, and it was thus inevitable that it should form the gateway to that portion of Britain, which, mainly through the absence of mountains, was the most fertile, and was consequently the first to attain a fairly high level of civilisation.

The site thus favourably situated for commerce was likewise very happily placed centrally among three or probably four areas of considerable fertility, *i.e.*, Essex, Hampshire, Kent, and perhaps Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire. The climate has always been healthy in spite of a certain humidity, and extremes of temperature are rare. As to the original site north of the Thames, it consists of twin hills well above high water mark, and formed of deposits of terrace gravel and sand resting upon a foundation of stiff blue clay. The gravel was covered with a layer of brick earth, furnishing with the utmost facility the materials required for building. The situation ensured a good water supply from shallow wells.

Very obvious are the commercial and defensive advantages of the site, for the twin elevations lay commandingly above the river, and, towards the land, were encircled with lower ground, which may or may not have been water-logged in places, according to the season of the year, and was perhaps slowly changing from tolerably dry ground to actual marsh as the result of slow earth movements which are referred to a little later.¹

¹ Pp. 19 to 22 *infra*.

The two hills afforded an excellent habitable area, some 350 acres in extent. A natural wet ditch to the west was provided by the stream, later to be known as The Fleet—an English name properly applied only to the natural harbour formed by its estuary. Between the eastern and western hills ran another stream, afterwards called the Wallbrook, whose wide estuary formed a second and much more valuable harbour in the midst of the raised area. Yet another advantage enjoyed by the site was its command of the river over which its inhabitants could keep watch.

On the gentle slopes close to the twin hills there was ample opportunity for cultivation; beyond this arable belt the forests provided game of all descriptions, and the clearings gave pasturage for cattle and swine. Further than this, the river contained an abundant supply of fish, as was the case down to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

These are natural conditions, but it should be pointed out that ultimately London occupied a remarkable position almost at the point where the boundaries met of the four most important peoples of southern Britain. This also tended to foster the commercial growth of the town, and thus it was a gateway to all four regions. It would seem to furnish a parallel to the case of Rome itself, which grew up as a strategic and commercial centre at the point where Latins, Sabines, and Etruscans met.

All conceptions of pre-Roman London have been dominated by the idea of an elevated site girt about with marshes. From this impression has come the unquestionably erroneous suggestion that the original name was Llyn-din, meaning the lake fort. No less than forty years ago Mr F. J. C. Spurrell¹ came to the conclusion,

¹ *Archæological Journal*, 1885, pp. 269-303; 1889, pp. 75-6; 1890, pp. 43-47 and 170. *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, vol. xi., 1889-90, pp. 210-228.

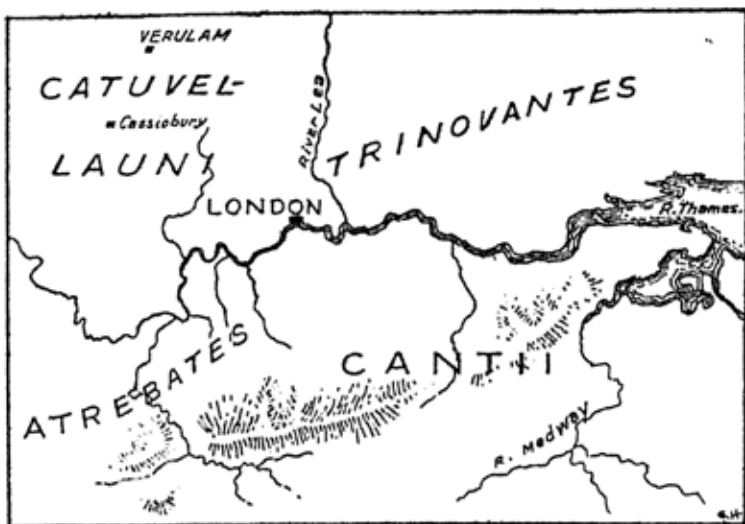
on both geological and archæological evidence, that the land surface between London and the mouth of the Thames was several feet higher 2000 years ago. His opinions were generally endorsed by Mr William Whittaker, F.R.S.,¹ and much more strongly by Mr A. S. Kennard and Mr S. H. Warren.² The last two geologists considered that the London district was decidedly more elevated in pre-Roman times than it is at present. Mr Walter Johnson has, from personal observations, and a close study of his predecessors' work, decided that the general difference in level was as much as from 10 to 12 feet. This most important conclusion seems to be borne out by the fact that undoubted relics of the Roman period, notably in Southwark and at the Royal Albert Docks, have been discovered at places which would be 8 or 9 feet below normal high water level and sometimes even more. In Southwark, for example, Roman pottery was found just about the Ordnance Datum line, that is, 12 feet 6 inches below high water mark; in some of these places the discoveries were more than 4 feet beneath this low level. As Mr Johnson very pertinently asks, can one imagine the intensely practical Romans preparing an area of forbidding bog for settlement by laboriously rearing high and massive embankments when there was plenty of good dry land available in the vicinity?

The geological evidence points to a gentle, but long-continued subsidence with well-marked pauses, of which the closing stages were not attained until the Roman period was fairly well advanced. "Saxon relics," writes Mr Johnson,³ "seem to be notably lacking where they might be expected to occur, and this absence must

¹ *Mem. Geol. Survey*, 1889, vol. i.

² W. Johnson, "Caesar's Ford," *Trans. Lond. and Middlesex Arch. Soc.*, 1917, p. 423.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 426.



LONDON IN RELATION TO TRIBAL AREAS OF SOUTHERN BRITAIN COMPARED WITH ROME.

imply a change in the physical conditions unfavourable to human occupation."

If the level of the ground were different in the first century A.D., the tides cannot have reached so far up stream as at present. Mr Johnson's opinion is important. His own words are, "since the fall from Teddington to London Bridge is fairly uniform, and averages about one foot per mile, the pre-Roman tides would be scarcely, if at all, felt in Chelsea Reach, and there would be virtually a non-tidal ford."¹

This evidence seems to demolish the theory that the original site of London was in the midst of wide-spreading marshes, which at times assumed the character of a lagoon. It will doubtless take some time before the popular impression, so repeatedly and often eloquently set forth by Dr Guest, J. R. Green, W. J. Loftie, and Sir Walter Besant is entirely removed.

Given that the "lagoon" theory be untenable, then the suggested origin of the name just quoted must also be abandoned quite apart from the fact that *llyn*, as Dr Henry Bradley observes, is modern Welsh, and it is absurd to suppose that that language was spoken at London in A.D. 1. Further than this, he lays stress on the fact that a compound origin of the name Londinium (Old Celtic, Londinion) is impossible, for it has only one root and not two. This fact is quite familiar to all Celtic philologists, although it was apparently unknown to the group of writers on London just mentioned. According to the distinguished authority just quoted, the derivation is not quite certain, but three facts are beyond dispute:

1. The *Lon* is not *lindon* or *lindu* (Old Celtic = lake).
2. The *Lon* is not *longa* (O.C. = ship).
3. The *don* is not *dunon* (O.C. = fort).

Dr Bradley considers that Roman transcriptions of

¹ See *infra* in reference to Caesar's Crossing.

British names, whenever they can be tested, are very accurate, and if the Celtic name of London signified "lake-fort," the Romans would have rendered it Lindodunum. If, as has been suggested, it signified "ship-fort," its Roman name would have been Longodunum.

Having disposed of impossibilities, Dr Bradley comes to what he considers the only reasonable etymology. The name of London is a possessive formed from some such appellation as Londinos, derived from the Old Celtic adjective *londos* probably meaning fierce. He carefully states that even this derivation is not absolutely certain owing to the imperfect knowledge so far acquired of Old Celtic, but that it is reasonable and the only one which is philologically possible.¹ In the face of the foregoing exposition, the only conclusion at which it is possible to arrive is that the twin hills beside the Thames formed, at some remote period, the possession, and, doubtless, the stronghold of a person or family bearing the name Londinos.

Guest² held that there was no pre-Roman town on the site. He was followed by J. R. Green³ and by Loftie,⁴ who cites Higden as saying that the old British road from Kent did not cross the Thames at London Bridge, but west of Westminster. The rise of Roman London was, therefore, according to these writers, due to a diversion of the road to the new bridge.

The danger of citing as an authority upon Roman conditions a fourteenth-century monkish chronicler is self-apparent. Nor does Higden say that the road which touched the Thames west of Westminster was an old British track. He really cannot have been qualified

¹ *Morning Post*, Jan. 8, 1907, p. 4, col. 3. *Athenaeum*, March 7, 1908, p. 289.

² *Origines Celticae*, vol. ii. p. 405-6.

³ *The Making of England*, p. 117, note 1.

⁴ *Archl. Journal*, vol. xxxiv. p. 165.

to judge on such a point. In his day, it was called Watling Street, and he is no doubt correct in saying that a branch of it crossed the Thames near Westminster. The late Professor Haverfield told Dr T. Rice Holmes that, in his opinion, there was no evidence that it existed before A.D. 43.

Dr Holmes sums up the evidence well by declaring that "the notion that a British town stood on the site has the solid foundation of etymology."¹ The name London is so ancient and so deeply rooted that it could not be displaced by the official Roman title of Augusta given to it long after the conquest. It is a purely Celtic word, and, *if the town had been a new Roman settlement, it would certainly have been given a Roman name.*² In addition there are indications of pre-historic occupation on the site and in the environs: finally, Dr Holmes pertinently observes that the advantages which attracted the traders of Rome would also have commended themselves to those of Britain.

It should be emphasised here that the inhabitants of Britain at the time of Caesar's invasion were in many ways a civilised race—indeed, from the material point of view, in some respects highly civilised. This was seen by the famous Massiliot explorer, Pytheas, nearly three centuries before Caesar ran his transports ashore on the coast of Kent. He found the people in the remote promontory of Belerium (Cornwall) comparatively civilised, friendly, and *ready to trade*. In Kent and the neighbouring regions the inhabitants were busy agriculturists; corn was raised in abundance, and there were covered granaries in which it was thrashed and stored. The picture given by this early scientist and traveller is certainly not that of a barbarian people.

¹ T. Rice Holmes, *Ancient Britain*, p. 704-5.

² Cf. Forum Julii (Fréjus), a new foundation. Good Greek examples are Alexandria and Seleucia.

During the centuries which intervened between the visit of Pytheas and the invasion of Caesar there can be little doubt that some progress was made, for probably as early as two hundred years B.C. the Britons had definitely created their own coinage of gold, which must point to the existence of a relatively extensive commerce, each gold piece, with its weight ranging up to as much as 120 grains, representing a very large purchasing value, according to modern standards. The eminence to which the Britons had attained in decorative art is admirably instanced, not only in their beautiful spiral ornament, but also in the enamel with which they adorned the delicately conceived designs of their metal work. Caesar notes the solidity of their buildings, comparable to those of their kinsfolk across the Channel, and their chariots indicate that the science of the wheelwright's craft was well developed. Weaving and spinning were advanced to the point of producing tartan designs. The presence of clothing made of linen, wool, and leather properly sewn and fastened with buttons, is known from many discoveries in burials.

The Britons were experts in domestic woodwork in the form of tankards, bowls and cups, beautifully ornamented with bronze. Finally, the tribes on the coast must have developed a high level of skill in the construction of comparatively large ships, otherwise it is impossible to explain the facility of cross-channel transit noted by Caesar. It is hardly possible to conceive that an island people could fall behind the shipwrights of Armorica (Brittany), who were of the same race and spoke the same language.¹ That there was a regular sea-borne commerce carried on in these ships is testified by Caesar.²

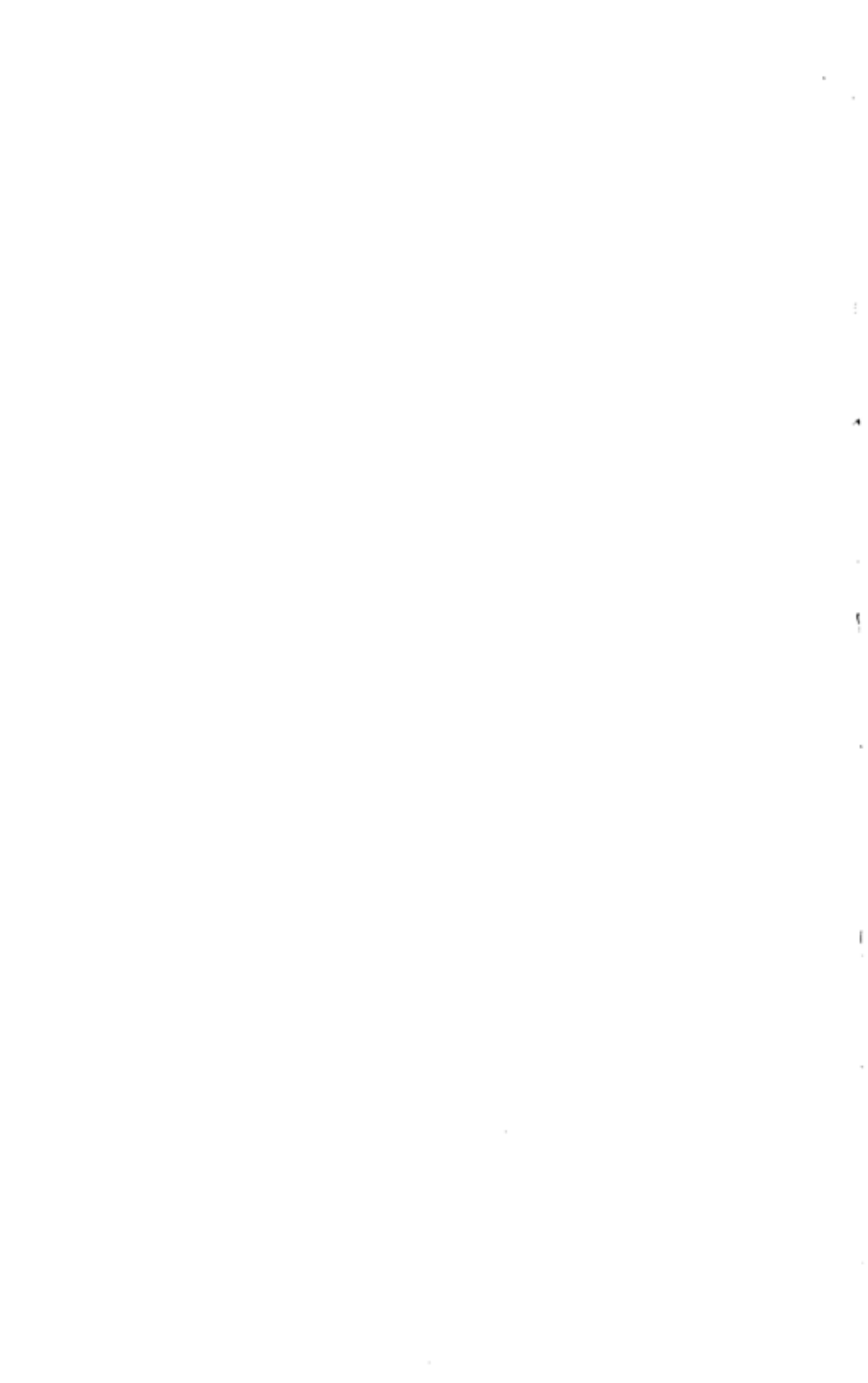
Having thus taken a brief survey of the capacity of the Britons to establish permanent village settlements

¹ Pp. 30 and 31 *infra*. ² *De Bello Gallico*, Book III. chap. viii.



BRITISH COINS AND EXAMPLES OF THOSE STRUCK AT LONDINIUM.

1. Gold half-stater found in Surrey of about 100-50 B.C. 2. Gold half-stater of Commius, King of the Atrebatas, 50-25 B.C. 3. Silver coin of the Iceni, marked ECRN, circa A.D. 20. 4. Gold coin of Tasciovanus, King of the Catuvellauni and Trinovantes, circa 35-5 B.C. 5. Gold coin of Cunobelinus, King of South Britain, circa 5 B.C.-A.D. 40; on the reverse is an ear of corn and the mint mark CAMV for Camulodunum. 6. Billon (= $\frac{1}{2}$ silver, $\frac{1}{2}$ copper) coin of Carausius, struck for Legio II. ML = Moneta Londiniensis. 7. CARAUSIUS with DIOCLETIAN and MAXIMIANUS as brother emperors. Mint mark C, perhaps Camulodunum or Corinium. 8. Billon ALLECTUS. ML. 9. Bronze Diocletian, LOS = Londinium. 10. Bronze, Constantius "the Great." PLN = Percussa (for Pecunia) Londinio. 11. Aureus Magnus Maximus. AVGON = pure gold of Augusta.



and ports, busy with the results of their industry, it now becomes necessary to consider such archæological evidence as exists to support the belief that there existed a Celtic London of relative importance. Here it may at once be said that *there is insufficient data for making any decisive statements in one direction or another.* The conditions under which relics of early London have been and are recovered from its area are so entirely dissimilar from those which prevail at the many deserted sites in Britain, such as those of *Callewa* and *Viroconium*, that there is no possible comparison. Both the places mentioned have lain desert for some thirteen or fourteen centuries, while London has been continuously occupied during the same period, and its heart has become a veritable succession of palimpsests. Age after age has written its records on the site. Foundations have succeeded foundations, perpetually complicating the strata which are so clearly defined in a long-deserted camp or town enclosure. The amount of destruction of the most valuable archæological evidence can scarcely be calculated, and without fear of contradiction it may be stated that the problem of the city's early origin may never be elucidated, even if its site were to become as desert as that of Nineveh or Carthage, so that the expert archæologist might have a free hand for his investigations.

In central London a very considerable number of pre-Roman objects have been brought to light, and in many cases their exact provenance is known, but too often there is no evidence forthcoming as to depth and relation to other datable deposits. It is thus nearly always a question of doubt as to whether an object is really pre-Roman or coeval with the early period of Roman occupation, when late Celtic implements, pottery, and ornaments would have still been in common use.

The overlapping of archæological periods is the salient fact which complicates the problem and renders

impossible any very definite statement as to the size and importance of pre-Roman London. At the same time, even making the widest possible allowance for this overlap, the number of late Celtic objects found actually within the walled Roman area is relatively enormous. It is almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that some of this accumulation dates to the late Celtic and not to the Roman epoch. It is also legitimate to make the conjecture that some, if not many, of the objects recognised as of Roman manufacture may have reached London long before the Roman conquest, for the investigator has no legitimate grounds for rejecting Strabo's statement that the Empire, as early as the reign of Augustus (43/31 B.C. to A.D. 14) was supplying Britain with small manufactured articles. He directly mentions glassware, and pottery may therefore be almost understood.

A fact which seems to have escaped general attention is the paucity of relics of the Anglo-Saxon period discovered in London.¹ *If archaeological evidence is to be taken as the sole foundation of history, it would be permissible to deduce that London was very slightly occupied by the English.* The evidence of this character for the existence at London of a settlement in late Celtic times is enormously greater than that for the unquestionable four centuries of Anglo-Saxon political domination.

In conclusion there must be emphasised once more the exceptional advantages of the site, and the fact that, if London began, as did most cities, from a single hut, its undoubted Celtic name could be ousted neither by Roman conqueror nor by English invader, and has endured almost unchanged from the first.

¹ *Victoria County History, London*, vol. i. p. 150, R. A. Smith, F.S.A.

CHAPTER II

LONDON FROM CAESAR'S INVASION TO THE CONQUEST OF BRITAIN BY CLAUDIUS

THE preceding chapter has shown that London may have been in the last century B.C. a place of some importance in Celtic Britain, and that, in short, it can scarcely have been otherwise, on account of its exceptionally favourable position for commerce both internal and external—a singularly independent centre in the midst of the most civilised tribes of Britain. The fact that it does not appear to have had political importance is of no particular significance, for, to make a comparison with our own times, until the passing of the first Reform Act in 1832, Manchester, with a population of about 150,000 ranked no higher than a manorial village.

It was midway in the last century of the pagan era that Britain came definitely into the ever-widening circle of Roman influence. By political and cultural ties, as well as racial kinship, the Britons—at least those of the south-east—were closely connected with the tribes of northern Gaul. There were Atrebates in Britain no less than in Gaul, and it is beyond question that the former were a division of the continental stock. The Belgic community in Hampshire and Wiltshire was obviously founded by a combined expedition sent from Gaul by the whole confederacy of the Belgae whom Caesar notes as being the most warlike and virile of the Celts of his time. The Atrebates in Berkshire, also of Belgic origin, appear to have separated themselves from the main body of adventurers, and established themselves quite independently on the southern confines of the Thames. There can be little doubt that the Catuvellauni, who created the only approach to a British Empire before the Roman Conquest, were an off-shoot

of the Catalauni of the Marne (about Chalons). This tribe was probably not Belgic at all, neither were the Parisii, who located themselves on the Yorkshire coast, but they had nevertheless continental affinities, and probably belonged to an earlier wave of migration.

Political influence also was comparatively close, for Caesar¹ says that Diviciacus,² King of the Suessiones (about Soissons) had, at a slightly earlier period, established some sort of hegemony over a large part of Britain; it was possibly limited to the tribes south of the Thames, and perhaps restricted to those of Belgic origin.

Elsewhere Caesar writes of the agricultural and pastoral wealth and the great fertility of south-eastern Britain. He also lays stress³ upon the dense population, the thickly studded settlements, and the quantities of cattle, and so far as can be judged by his laconic narrative, these conditions prevailed right up to the Thames and beyond.

Caesar therefore, very early in his operations in Gaul, discovered that the island across the Channel was an important factor in Gallic politics. It is not clear whether there were British auxiliaries in the Belgic armies which resisted the Romans in 57 B.C., but in Book IV. Caesar distinctly states that in almost all the campaigns which he had waged up to 55, the Gauls had received aid from their British friends⁴ and trading associates.

It is worth while to mention here that this trade implied a very considerable number of vessels, and that some of them must have been of relatively large size—a

¹ *De Bello Gallico*, Book II. chap. iv.

² This name has commonly been misspelt Divitiacus.

³ *De Bello Gallico*, Book V. chap. xii. "Hominum est infinita multitudo creberrimaeque aedificia fere Gallicis consimilia, pecoris magnus numerus"—"The population is extremely dense; buildings [farmsteads or villages] almost exactly like those of the Gauls are very frequent; cattle are very numerous."

⁴ *De Bello Gallico*, Book IV. chap. xx.

condition entailed by the stormy and dangerous passages frequently made between the rocky coast of Brittany and the Solent or the Thames. Opinions must differ as to their precise dimensions, but Caesar states: 1. That their sides were of oak and a foot in thickness;¹ and 2. That they were too lofty to be boarded from the decks of the Roman war galleys; 3. He also lays stress upon their very solid construction and the extensive use of iron bolts and nails. Vessels of such a character could scarcely have been of less than 200 tons burden, and it should also be noted that to convey a force of about 10,000 men, only eighty of these ships were necessary, that is to say an average of over 120 per vessel, excluding the Gallic seamen.² Not only were the ships of relatively large dimensions and considerable draft, but they were also sufficiently numerous along the Gallic coast for Caesar to collect ninety-eight at very short notice. All this points to a notable volume of cross-channel commerce, Caesar definitely stating that the vessels were used in trade with Britain.³ No difficulty in the way of transport would have been experienced in carrying ample assistance from one side of the Channel to the other.

It very quickly appeared to Caesar a matter of prime importance to cut off at its source this stream of reinforcement to his antagonists in Gaul. His first step was a reconnaissance in force in the summer of 55 B.C., with

¹ *De Bello Gallico*, Book III. chaps. xiii and xiv.

² The Elizabethan war galleon carried one man to each 2 tons, e.g., H.M.S. *Revenge* was a vessel of about 550 tons, and her crew was 260, excluding captain and servants. The standard of manning in Nelson's day was nearly the same. In regard to transports, it may be observed that after his victory at Oporto in 1809, Wellington wrote to the Admiralty for transport for 2000 prisoners of war, at the rate of 2 tons per man. The calculation given above shows only about $1\frac{1}{2}$ tons per man. These Gallic vessels may have averaged considerably more than 200 tons.

³ *De Bello Gallico*, Book III. chap. viii.

a view to discovering the nature of the coast and the quality of the resistance he was likely to encounter. Having obtained the necessary information, he withdrew, and at once proceeded to make preparation for an invasion on a large scale. This he carried out in the following year with a force of five legions, a porportion of light infantry, and at least 2000 cavalry, transported on a flotilla of some 800 vessels, of which 600 were shallow-draft barges specially built during the winter by the industrious legionaries, of course assisted by local labour.

On this occasion he was met by strenuous opposition; several of the tribes of the south-east being banded together under Cassivellaunus, King of the Catuvellauni. The landing-place, according to all probability, was between Deal and Sandwich, and the march westward, after the first local resistance had been overcome and the fleet secured, was almost certainly ¹ via Canterbury and Rochester, or else along the Pilgrims' Way, which crossed the Medway below Aylesford. Caesar dismisses the story of this march of over 70 miles in a single sentence, and, although he must have crossed the Medway and the Darent, and in spite of the fact that he emphasises the fertility and the dense population of the country, he mentions the name of no single village, stream, or locality.

At the end of this difficult march, during which it had been steadily harassed by the guerilla tactics of the Britons, the Roman army reached the Thames and forced a passage. The information given by Caesar is as follows:—

1. "The chief command and direction of the war was given by general vote to Cassivellaunus, whose territories the river Thames separates from the

¹ T. Rice Holmes, *Ancient Britain*, p. 344, says that this is "morally certain."

maritime tribes about 80 [Roman] miles from the sea."—*De Bello Gallico*, Book V. chap. ii.

2. "Having ascertained their plans, Caesar led his army to the river Thames into the territories of Cassivellaunus. This river can be forded at one place only and that with difficulty."—*De Bello Gallico*, Book V. chap. xviii.
3. "On reaching the river, he [Caesar] observed the enemy drawn up in great force on the opposite bank. The bank was defended by pointed stakes planted along it, and stakes of the same description were fixed under water and covered by the flowing stream. Having ascertained these facts from prisoners and deserters, Caesar ordered forward his cavalry, and directed the legions to follow rapidly close in rear. But the troops rushed on with such speed and impetuosity, although only their heads showed above the water, that the enemy were quite unable to withstand the combined charge of the legions and horsemen. They abandoned the banks and took to flight."—*De Bello Gallico*, Book V. chap. xviii.

This is the bare record of essential facts, in which all place-names are omitted, possibly on account of a certain desire on the part of Caesar to be brief in describing his British campaign. It appears to suggest the possibility of the Proconsul having realised that, notwithstanding the success obtained, there were few of the spectacular results which might have been anticipated in Roman society and official circles. The grey-green island of Britain produced little of real "colour" to appeal to the populace.¹

¹ Dion Cassius asserts that Caesar's invasion was neither an advantage to Rome nor to Caesar, but it must be remembered that, apart from his bitter bias, the earlier portions of his history (he wrote nearly three centuries after the events) may be classed as somewhat careless compilations.

From wherever the Medway was crossed, Caesar would have been compelled to direct his march towards the Thames by some well-worn trade route, which must have existed in such a thickly populated and chariot-using part of the country. It is almost certain that he came by a track later converted into the arterial Roman road now called the "Watling Street." On the high ground west of the Medway there would be no difficulty in joining that route from the south, supposing that Caesar had been obliged to avoid the direct passage where Rochester now stands. Once upon the main track, the Thames would be visible on the right flank fairly continuously all the way until it lay across the line of march. At high tide the aspect of the river would have been that of a wide estuary, even allowing for the subsidence of the ground noted by geologists, any marshy zones on either shore being partially submerged twice daily. Therefore, coming over Shooters' Hill to Greenwich, Caesar would have seen the shimmering estuary, backed by the soft green hills of the country of the Trinovantes (now Essex), narrowing as it approached the high ground of London, and must have realised that he was nearing the point at which the British highway crossed the river.

That he saw all there was to see of London must be taken as certain. The gravelly bluff would then have appeared broken by the wide and shallow mouth of the stream now called the Wallbrook, with the western face protected as with a great wet ditch by the rapid-flowing Fleet River.

To what extent there was shipping in the Thames itself or in the convenient pocket formed by the Wallbrook must be a matter of conjecture. If London had by this time developed any sea-borne trade there would have doubtless been some of the solidly-built Gallic type of merchant vessels anchored in the main stream or

moored to the banks of the natural harbour. In any case it is impossible to conceive the absence of fishing boats and coracles, for down to the Stuart period and even later fish were plentiful in the Thames.

From what has been said in the previous chapter it may be inferred that when Caesar looked across the river he saw indications of a fairly populous settlement, very probably defended by entrenchments and a stockade. There is also fairly sound evidence for believing that staithes or landing stages flanked the sides of the natural harbour and no difficulties stood in the way of building them along the main river front. In addition to the most simple and rude types of wattle and daub dwellings, the better class of timber house could scarcely have been absent, for such construction would have naturally come about as soon as the necessity arose for storing more perishable imports and as factories were established on the spot by merchant syndicates.

The great fact to be insisted upon is the inevitability of Caesar's having *seen* London as he moved along the old road on the south side of the Thames towards the point where it could be crossed. Accepting this as a fact, one is confronted with the question as to the position of the stronghold or *oppidum* of Cassivellaunus. It has been suggested by General Pitt Rivers,¹ T. Lewin² and Sir Laurence Gomme³ that the *oppidum* was London and that it would have been inconceivable for a general of any capacity to have left in his rear an untaken stronghold. Sir Laurence Gomme even goes to the extent of saying that "it seems irresistible that London and not Verulam was the stronghold of Cassivellaunus."

Certainly Caesar's silence as to the reduction of London is a fact, but it is also a fact that, from his own

¹ *Anthropological Review*, vol. v. p. lxxvii.

² *Archaeologia*, vol. xl. pp. 65-6.

³ *London*, p. 23.

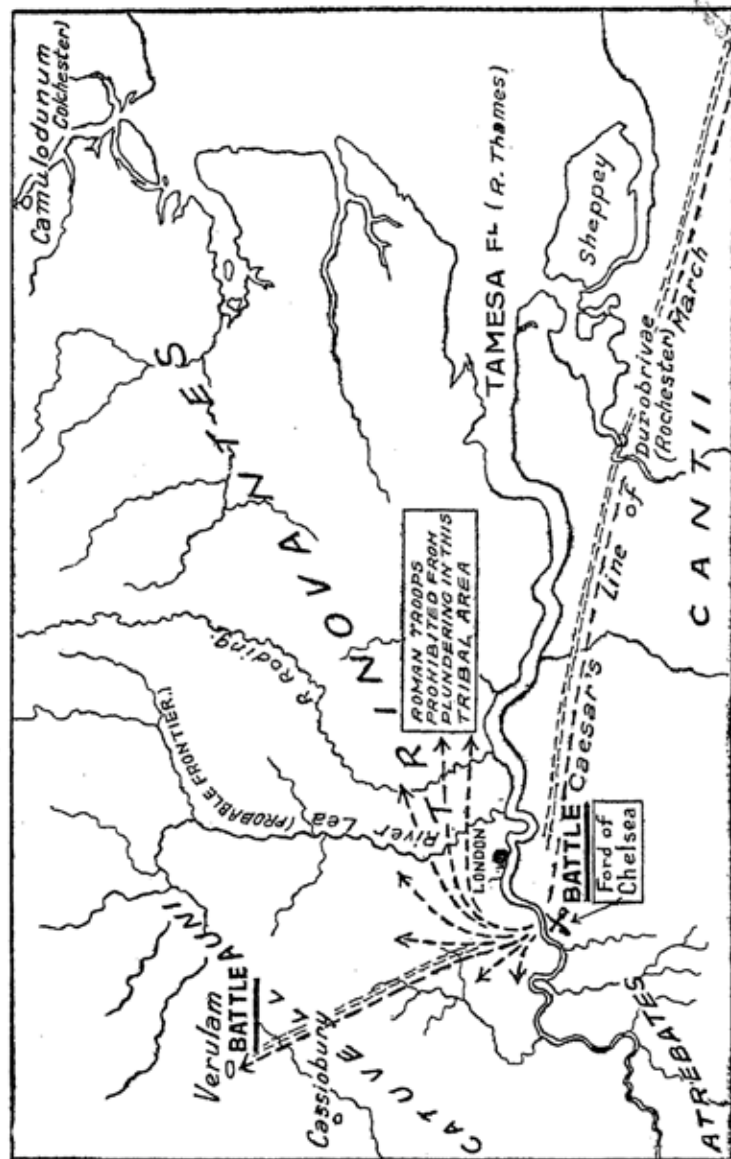
description, he must have occupied or captured numerous British settlements on his way from the coast, yet still he is silent. As a trading centre it is more than likely that no attempt would have been made to defend it against the overwhelming force which its inhabitants could have seen with their own eyes approaching along the south bank of the Thames. Further than this, Caesar carefully states¹ that he strictly prohibited his soldiers from plundering and misconduct among the Trinovantes whose western boundary was the river Lea, that is, immediately east of London. The fact that he issued this special order, indicates that he must have crossed that stream into the territory of these new allies.

A glance at the map will show that the large Roman army with its cavalry and its skilled intelligence officers had made practically a complete circle round London at a very short distance from it. And yet Caesar had to be informed by the Trinovantes of the nature and position of the great stronghold of their enemy crowded with human beings and flocks and herds. To suggest that a great general, with able officers and a veteran army, had not by this time become aware of a very strongly fortified refuge within a mile or two of his outposts is a plain absurdity.

The refuge of the southern Catuvellauni, therefore, cannot have been London. A careful study of the statements made by Caesar and the topography of the country immediately north of the Thames rather lead to the conclusion that Verulam (St Albans) has the strongest claim to be the site. Sir Charles Oman considers that there is very little doubt on the subject.² Dr Rice Holmes is also of the opinion that "more can be said for Verulam than for any other [place] . . . but

¹ *De Bello Gallico*, Book V. chap. xxi.

² *England before the Norman Conquest*, p. 48.



CAESAR'S CAMPAIGN IN 54 B.C.

His advances from the landing-place in Kent is shown by the dotted line. The battle at the crossing of the Thames, which Caesar describes as having occurred at Chelsea or Battersea, where large numbers of weapons and many British and Roman skulls have been found on the northern side of the river bed.

its identity with the *oppidum* in question has not been proved."¹

Coming back therefore to the moment when the army had reached the Thames, the position of the ford which it forced has to be decided seeing that no place is mentioned by name. Caesar was definitely aiming at the territory of Cassivellaunus, and it is to be assumed that a fairly well-marked trackway led across the Thames into that part of the country. When Caesar says that the river could only beforded at one point, and that with difficulty, he doubtless intended to convey that there was only one ford available within his circumscribed scope of operations. That other fords existed higher up the course of the Thames must have been known or guessed, but to reach them would have involved the risk of entangling the army in marshy, wooded and intricate country which would have laid the marching columns open to the attacks of the light-armed Britons.

Where, therefore, was this one ford which was suitable for Caesar's purposes? The candidates are:

- (1) Halliford (Coway Stakes),² (2) Sunbury,³ (3) Kingston,⁴ (4) Petersham,⁵ (5) Brentford,⁶ (6) Chelsea,⁷ and (7) Westminster.⁸

To reach the first two would have entailed a flank

¹ T. Rice Holmes, *Ancient Britain*, p. 702.

² Camden's *Britannia*, vol. i. p. 168. Guest, *Origines Ceticæ*, vol. ii. pp. 384-5, 388, 391-2.

³ Napoleon III. (General Stoffel), *Hist. de Jules César*, ii. p. 191.

⁴ Von Göler, *Caesars gall. Krieg*, p. 155. W. H. Black, *Archæologia*, vol. xl. pp. 51-2.

⁵ Manning and Bray's *Hist. of Surrey*, vol. ii. p. 760.

⁶ Camden's *Britannia*, vol. i. p. 329. *Jour. of Brit. Arch. Assoc.* O.S., xvi. p. 135. Montagu Sharpe, *Bregant-forda and the Hanweal*, pp. 1, 22-7.

⁷ "Caesar's Ford," Walter Johnson, F.G.S., 1917. Maitland's *Hist. of London*, vol. i. p. 8. *Jour. of Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, N.S., vol. iii. p. 102.

⁸ *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxvi. pp. 256-7.

march through the low-lying riparian country which is more or less continuous as far as Staines, and would have furthermore involved the passage of at least four troublesome streams meandering through thickets and swamps. The same conditions apply more or less to Kingston and Petersham and even to Brentford, although the distance was shorter and the number of streams to negotiate fewer.

For Halliford and Sunbury there is no evidence at all except that for the first there is a shadowy tradition recorded or perhaps originated by Camden and the fact that its name does indicate a passage. Sunbury was a guess by Napoleon III. and his scientific assistant on "information" obtained from local boatmen. Kingston is also a guess, this time by a German. Petersham may be set down as another English guess. I have examined the spot (just below Ham House), and have ascertained from local inhabitants that this ford could be used within the last thirty years and that at times the water only reached to the knees. This need not, however, be taken as a guide to conditions existing two thousand years ago. Brentford is one of the places of passage for which some material evidence can apparently be produced. The remains of a line of stakes which once extended for about two miles between the mouth of the Brent and Isleworth were discovered by Thames conservancy officials. These, it has been suggested, may be those planted by Cassivellaunus which Bede¹ mentions (on hearsay naturally) as being "as thick as a man's thigh and cased with lead."² The last piece of information seems conclusively to demonstrate that these stakes were not planted for military purposes by the Catuvellaunian king. Can anyone imagine how, in an emergency, nearly two miles of such thick stakes could have been covered with

¹ *Hist. Ecclesiastica*, Liber I. cap. ii.

² One of the stakes is preserved in Ealing Public Library.

lead, the quantities required for the purpose being prodigious and the time and labour involved proportionately great?¹ A further question. Can any advantage, from the military standpoint, be imagined from the leaden covering?

The presence of the lines of stakes at Brentford has led Mr Montagu Sharpe to claim that point as the scene of Caesar's crossing, and he advances various theories in support of his contention. One of these is "that the first practical means of crossing this barrier [the Thames] was by the ford at Brentford the next being 50 miles up stream at Wallingford," but Mr Sharpe ignores the fact that there are at least four fords between Brentford and Chertsey. Secondly, he states that "on the Middlesex [=Brentford] ford converged therefore the principal chariot or trackways for miles around." In support of this statement I can find no evidence. On the south side of the river no early roads leading to Brentford appear so far to have been discovered, and if the Watling Street represent the pre-Roman way to Verulamium, this is directed unerringly to a point between Chelsea and Westminster. Even the fact that the great Roman thoroughfare to the west passed through Brentford may be explained by the circumstance that in laying out a road from London which was to cross the river at Staines, the Kew-Brentford bend must needs be touched. The loop comes sufficiently far to the north to force the Roman road to make an obtuse angle at this point. Three other contentions made by Mr Sharpe seem to be without the support of any evidence. In my opinion the presence of the stakes at Brentford is to be explained by the need in comparatively modern times of protecting

¹ On a rough estimate, supposing the piles to be planted at distances of about 2 feet from centre to centre and 10 feet long, there would be required about 60,000 feet of about 5-in. x 5-in. baulks, and in addition at least 1000 tons of lead cast into sheets.

the foreshore. On the north side where they are found, the bank being on the outer curve receives the impact of the current and is consequently in need of artificial protection. The fact that some of the stakes are almost in the middle of the stream may be due to the shifting of the course of the river by the very process which they were intended to arrest.

The last two fords on the list are those of Chelsea and Westminster, and as they are only a mile and a half apart they may be treated as one. Assuming that Verulamium and other places in that direction were of some importance and required a means of communication with the ports of East Kent, Chelsea or Westminster would be far more favourable points for the connecting road to pass the Thames than any other at a time when there was no bridge-building. That there was a ford or ferry somewhere between Chelsea and Westminster in mediaeval times is fairly well proved by the reference to the crossing of the Thames "west of Westminster" which is made by Higden, the fourteenth century chronicler,¹ but whether this existed in Roman times depends on the inference that the line of the Watling Street from the north-west was continued in a fairly straight line to the river opposite the roadway known as Stangate. In this case the great pre-historic trunk route from Kent into the Midlands would have crossed the Thames to the west of London, necessitating a deflection of the route in Roman times in order to reach the bridge.

There is no doubt whatever as to the existence of fords in Chelsea reach, and there, as at Westminster, a stream flows in from the north. These are shown on the accompanying map. At Chelsea, according to Mr Walter Johnson,² who has been quoted in the previous chapter, there have been at least two fords which even under present conditions exist in some form to-day in

¹ *Polychronicon*, Book II. chap. 46.

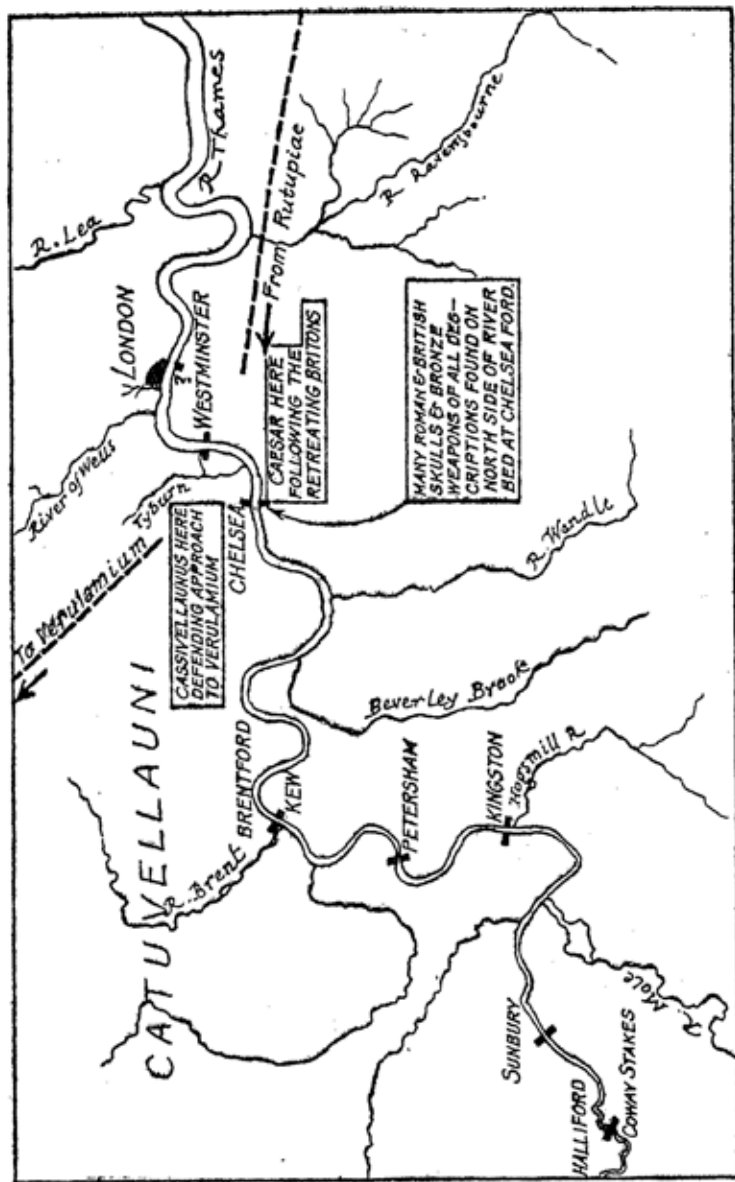
² *Caesar's Ford*, pp. 410 sqq.

spite of the removal of much ballast from the bottom. These fords have the advantage over Westminster of being at a point where the river is appreciably narrower.

In the study of this problem, the physiographical changes in the valley of the lower Thames, already discussed, have much bearing on the subject. The salient point is that if these changes took place—and there seems little reason to doubt them—the tide would have almost, if not entirely, exhausted its force by the time it reached Chelsea, and such a condition would enormously increase the importance of a ford at that spot. The same conditions would more or less apply to Westminster, but the theory of a ford at that place lacks adequate support.

Archæological evidence is almost entirely wanting at all the fords which have been discussed with the exception of Brentford and Chelsea. In regard to the first, the age of the stakes cannot be sufficient to carry them back two thousand years. It is even possible that they are not later than the eighteenth century when (in 1775) the Corporation of London took measures to protect the banks of the Thames at such places as Richmond and Teddington. These, according to Mr Sharpe, have already disappeared while those at Brentford are in excellent preservation, so that the natural inference is that they are of even more recent date. In any case, even allowing that the Brentford "palisading" was of considerable antiquity, it seems quite impossible that the portion not perpetually submerged could have survived the destructive agencies operating throughout twenty centuries.

Coming to the only remaining archæological evidence, there has been found at the Chelsea ford testimony of a remarkable character. When the Chelsea Suspension Bridge was being built in 1854-5 there were discovered in the river bed a large quantity of British and Roman



THE FORDS OF THE THAMES BY WHICH CAESAR MIGHT HAVE CROSSED.

Besides the seven indicated there may have been an eighth at London itself, just below the present London Bridge and, roughly, opposite the Customs House.

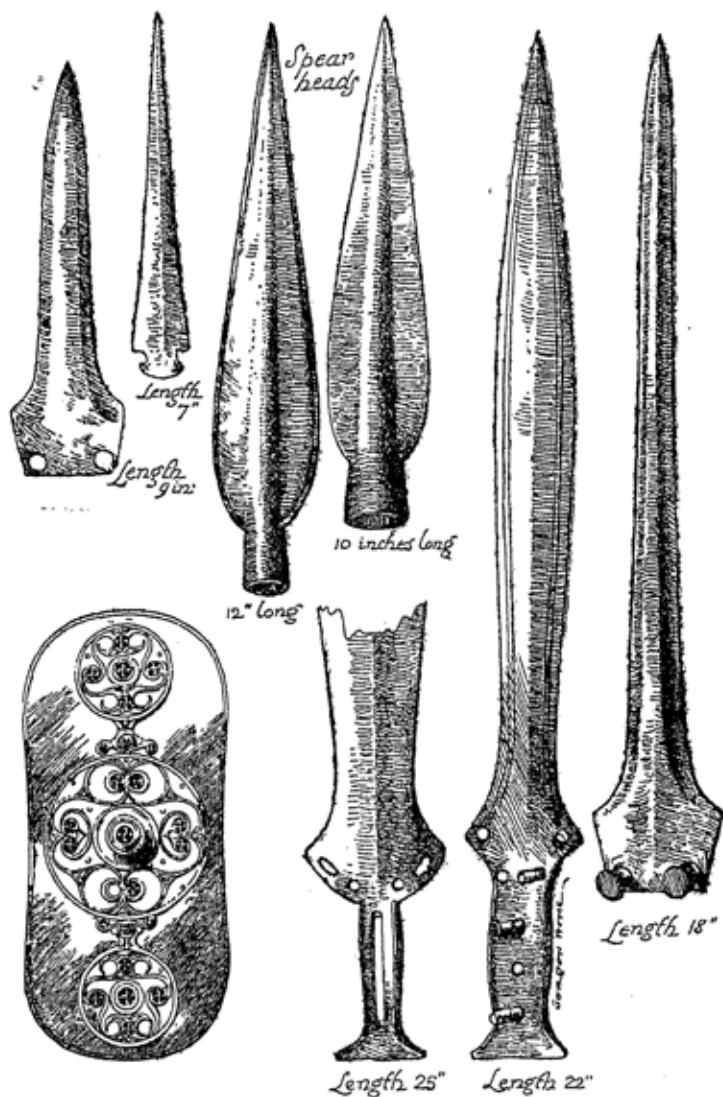
relics lying in utter confusion in a manner which indicated a desperate conflict. They included human skulls of two distinct types—British and Roman;¹ a number of British objects, including weapons, the sole of a Roman military boot, together with a spear-head and that of a javelin—both Roman. The beautiful enamelled bronze shield, which is one of the finest treasures of this period in the British Museum, was brought to light in the same place in the following year, and as all these finds were quite accidental, it may be reasonably inferred that the river bed at this point holds a great deal more than has been discovered.

A vitally important feature of this discovery was the fact that the bulk of the remains occurred from the Middlesex shore towards midstream—exactly where one would expect to find them if there were a fight at this point in shallow water between one body of troops endeavouring to cross in face of opposition from another force defending the northern bank.

Reviewing the whole of the evidence with Caesar's account of his operations before one, there is nothing which militates against the suggestion that he crossed the Thames at Chelsea, while the whole of the archaeological evidence existing points to this place. The early roads, as far as one can obtain any hints of their direction, would appear to point to a passage in this neighbourhood, but it might further be noted that if the land were higher and drier in 54 B.C. than it became some centuries later it is not necessary to suppose that Caesar was tied to any particular track.

In any case, wherever the ford may have been, Caesar safely negotiated the passage of the Thames. At this juncture he was met by envoys from the great tribe of the Trinovantes (Essex and part of Hertfordshire and Suffolk), who had been unwillingly brought into his

¹ *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1857, vol. xiii. pp. 237-40.



EXAMPLES OF THE VERY NUMEROUS BRONZE WEAPONS AND A SHIELD
DISCOVERED IN THE THAMES AT BATTERSEA OR CHELSEA.

They were nearly all brought to light on the northern side of the bed of the Thames where large numbers of Roman and British skulls were found in great confusion, suggesting the results of a great conflict.

defensive league by Cassivellaunus, after a war in which their king had fallen. His son Mandubracius had already taken refuge with Caesar, and the tribe now requested that their legitimate sovereign might be permitted to return. Their request Caesar promptly granted, exacting in exchange supplies for his army. Hostages were given and his requisitions promptly fulfilled, and a useful inference may be made as to the agricultural wealth of Essex two thousand years ago from the ease and rapidity of the execution of this condition, since at least 25,000 men and some 5000 horses had to be fed. Several small local tribes also submitted. They were the Cenimagni, the Segontiaci, the Ancalites, the Bibroci, and the Cassi. The last name is perhaps to be associated with Cashiobury (or Cassiobury) Park close to Watford.

These deserters from the British cause informed the Roman general that a great tribal "oppidum" of Cassivellaunus, crowded with human beings and livestock, was not far distant from his camp. This gave Caesar a welcome opportunity for dealing a decisive blow. He therefore immediately marched thither and stormed the fortified refuge, capturing the flocks and herds and a great number of prisoners.

The victory produced the desired effect, especially as the attack of the Cantii in Kent on his naval base had also been defeated. Cassivellaunus made overtures for submission and Caesar, who, as he says, was anxious to return to Gaul, imposed terms which he trusted would settle the British question for some time to come. The British king was to pay annual tribute to Rome, to keep the peace with the Trinovantes and give hostages.

During this last phase of his operations Caesar was, without doubt, within easy reach of London. It is quite certain that he marched into Essex, for he mentions

the issuing of an order to the army to refrain from all acts of indiscipline which might cause loss and resentment among the Trinovantes. A better site than London for an advanced base while operating north of the Thames could hardly be found, and although it may be thought a bold conjecture, it is at least possible that it was Caesar's engineers who built the first semi-permanent bridge over the river at this point. When one considers the prodigious rapidity with which he had bridged the Rhine¹ in the previous year, I can think of no reasonable objection to his having done the same at London, where the conditions were infinitely easier, *i.e.* less than half the length, with an infinitely smaller volume of water to encounter. The very expert engineers of the Roman army cannot, with their ripe experience, have regarded the task as a really formidable one. While it is true that Caesar makes no reference to his bridging the Thames, such work must have been a commonplace of his campaigning. He only describes the building of his great Rhine bridge because it was an operation of unprecedented magnitude, carried out with great speed under exceptional difficulties.

The enormous advantages of even the most temporary type of bridge as compared with a ford are so manifold and so obvious that it is unnecessary to dwell upon them. It might be urged that Caesar would not have undertaken any such semi-permanent construction for the needs of a brief campaign. Against such a contention, however, may be placed the fact that the great bridge over the Rhine, just mentioned, was built simply because, as Caesar says, it was not consonant with the dignity of the Roman nation² to pass its army across

¹ *De Bello Gallico*, Book IV. chap. xviii. Caesar states that the bridge over the Rhine was completed within ten days after the commencement of the preparation of materials.

² *De Bello Gallico*, Book IV. chap. xvii.

in boats, and having fulfilled its purpose, this remarkable example of Roman military engineering was destroyed after standing for only eighteen days.¹

Summing up the probabilities it appears a reasonable suggestion that the first pile bridge erected at London was the work of Caesar, and if there were no particular reasons for its destruction on his leaving the country, it may well have been left standing. Far from there being such reasons for demolition, there suggest themselves grounds for its preservation. The advantage, from a military standpoint, of having a roadway across the Thames in case of the possibility of another campaign would have been apparent to a man of Caesar's far-sighted vision. Who can say that, had he not been deterred by the uprising in Gaul which began in the ensuing winter, he would not have returned to complete the conquest of South-east Britain? As regards the maintenance and protection of the structure he would have had an easy means at hand in the presence of the friendly Trinovantes whose territory practically touched London. It would be manifestly a case of shutting the eyes to probabilities to deny that Caesar made any such arrangement, for, as Mommsen² long ago pointed out, Caesar kept silence as to his political arrangements in Gaul and may well have done likewise in Britain. Secondly, a bridge would have appealed to the trading classes on both sides of the Channel and it is quite likely that influential merchants would have appealed to Caesar to allow the preservation of a structure so useful for commercial operations. Lastly, a bridge flung across the greatest river of Britain would be a continual reminder in the absence of the Eagles of what Rome could do.

Having received the submission of Cassivellaunus, Caesar returned to the coast with his prisoners and spoil,

¹ *De Bello Gallico*, Book IV. chap. xix.

² *Hist. of Rome*, Book V. chap. vii., footnote 16.

and London saw him no more although his ten greatest years were yet to come. There has been much debate as to whether the tribute imposed upon the Britons was paid or not. It is customary to suggest that it was either immediately or quickly discontinued. Sir Charles Oman, who holds moderate views on the subject, inclines to think that no payments were made after 52 B.C. when all Gaul blazed into revolt under the leadership of Vercingetorix. Against this it should be remembered that the crisis quickly passed, and that Caesar still held the hostages, whose lives would have been in jeopardy, had the stipulated *vectigal* not been forthcoming.

The use of this word *vectigal* raises a suspicion that the annual payment required by Caesar may have been calculated on the volume of trade between Britain and Gaul. It is noteworthy that he writes of it as levied on Britain as a whole and not upon the defeated Cassivellaunus. When, a little over half a century later, Strabo¹ refers to the island, he says that it paid regular customs duties upon exports and imports at the ports of Gaul, and it seems reasonable, as Professor T. Rice Holmes² has stated, that these duties were imposed as an easily collected substitute for the *vectigal* exacted by Caesar. The great geographer encourages this belief when he says that in view of this substantial revenue the Romans had no need to garrison the island. The common-sense outlook of this statement doubtless reflects the reasoned policy of Augustus and his ministers, at the same time there is some reason to believe that in 27-26 B.C., when Caesar's successor was in Gaul, he momentarily contemplated following in the steps of his predecessor.³

The period of ninety-seven years between Caesar's departure and the great invasion by Claudius I. is not

¹ *Geographia*, Book IV. chap. v.

² *Ancient Britain*, p. 356.

³ *Dion Cassius*, Book LIII. chap. xxv.

without a certain amount of historical illumination, enough to see a fairly distinct picture of Britain tending towards political unification, a steadily increasing economic prosperity, and also comparatively rapid Romanisation.

To deal firstly with the development of political unity : soon after Caesar's death, that is to say about 40 B.C., there seem to have been three leading kingdoms in southern Britain, the Catuvellauni, still ruled by Cassivellaunus, the Trinovantes, and, south of the Thames, a state consisting of the Atrebates and the Cantii under the rule of Caesar's old friend, Commius, King of the Atrebates in Gaul, who was Vercingetorix's colleague in the great revolt of 52 B.C., and afterwards fled to Britain where he carved out for himself a new kingdom.

Somewhere about 35 B.C. Cassivellaunus was succeeded by his yet more energetic and warlike son, Tasciovanus, who conquered the Trinovantes and added to his dominion the greater part of the Midlands. After a reign of some forty years he was succeeded by his still greater son Cunobelinus, who destroyed the dominion of the sons of Commius and exercised such a widespread hegemony that he soon acquired the title among the Romans of *Rex Brittonum*. His reign was even longer than that of his father and he did not die until a year or two before the Claudian invasion of A.D. 43.

It is clear that this unification must have tended to peaceful conditions, freer intercourse, both internal and external, and a consequent rapid increase in general prosperity. An impression of those improved conditions is afforded by Strabo's list of British exports to the Continent. Skins, slaves, and hunting dogs might reasonably be expected, but corn and cattle indicate agricultural and pastoral wealth and not improbably in a certain degree a good deal of method and some science in stock breeding and grain production. When the

list reaches the metals, iron, silver and gold, a certain feeling of surprise is inevitable. Strabo is so notoriously sceptical that one cannot doubt that he obtained his information from traders or trade lists. His catalogue of imports into Britain is very much what may be expected; ivory, amber, jewellery, glassware and kindred merchandise which latter would naturally include pottery and a better type of household articles than that which the Britons had hitherto been in the habit of manufacturing.

In view of this undoubtedly important volume of trade, and having regard to the unique position of London, there can be very little doubt that it was during the latter part of this period that the small river port at the head of the estuary of the Thames began to develop steadily into the busy commercial centre which it is known to have been in the year 60. If a bridge had not come into

existence at the earlier date which has been suggested, now would have been the time when such a structure would have become a pure necessity. The question of the capacity for Britons without the aid of Roman engineers to construct a solid pile bridge is one requiring little discussion, for the driving of piles was an accomplishment infinitely older than the continental colonisation of Britain. Lake dwellings belonging



JAR OF LIGHT GREY WARE PROBABLY OF PRE-ROMAN DATE.

Found on the site of the Guardian Assurance Company's building in King William Street. (Height $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches).

to the Bronze Age were supported on piles sufficiently well-driven to make the superimposed structures safe places of residence. More than half a century before Cunobelinus had begun to reign in Britain, Caesar was recording the existence of permanent bridges over large rivers such as the Loire, and again and again he emphasises the skill of the Celts in engineering. Such evidence seems to me decisive and in any case there is the definite evidence of Dion Cassius of there being a bridge across the Thames in A.D. 43.

The testimony as to the advance of Romanisation throughout the south-east is very strong. Strabo seems to make it clear that British princes—possibly Tasciovanus and his famous son—visited Rome and made offerings in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.¹ There is plenty of further evidence that the relations between Britain and the Roman Empire were close and friendly, but the strongest evidence is afforded by numismatics. Tasciovanus and Commius struck coins both in gold and silver with Latin inscriptions, and the far more abundant currency of Cunobelinus was remarkable for its excellent classical type, which may have been due to trained moneyers whom he had taken into his service.

¹ *Geographia*, Book IV. chap. 5.

CHAPTER III

FROM THE INVASION OF CLAUDIUS TO THE RESTORATION
OF LONDINIUM AFTER ITS DESTRUCTION BY BOUDICCA,
A.D. 43 TO CIRCA 70

TI· CLAVdio Drusi f CaeSARI
AVGVsto GermaniCO
PONTIFICi : Maximo Trib PotesTAT·XI
COS·V·IMp XXI (?) patri pa TRIAI
SENATVS· POPulusque ·ROManus qUOD
REGES· BRITannaiai XI devictos sine
VLLA· IACTVRa in deditionem acceperit
GENTESQUE· Barbaras trans oceanum
PRIMVS· IN· DICI onem populi Romani redegerit ¹

(To Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, the son of Drusus ; Pontifex Maximus ; in the 11th year of his Tribunician power ; his 5th consulate and the 21st (?) occasion of his being saluted Imperator : Father of the State—the Senate and People of Rome, because without any reverse he conquered and received into surrender eleven British kings, and for the first time reduced trans-oceanic foreigners under the power of the Roman people.)

The first half-century of the Christian era was nearly spent when Claudius I., the fifth Caesar, determined to transform into direct dominion the vague suzerainty of Rome over the southern parts of Britain still ruled by the descendants of Cassivellaunus. Doubtless contemporary observers who had watched or become aware of the process of Romanisation, were convinced in their minds that sooner or later it would become necessary to include southern Britain within the expanding frontiers

¹ A record on the remains of a large marble slab discovered in Rome and now in the Palazzo Barbarini. The words or parts of words existing are in large capitals. The gaps have been conjecturally supplied by Mommsen, but the general significance is unquestionable.

of the Roman Empire. Tiberius had not been an expansionist, but under his successor a rather definite forward policy set in, of which the most notable immediate outcome was the definite annexation of Mauretania, conterminous with western Algeria and northern Morocco.

Claudius had undoubtedly personal reasons for desiring a brilliant military achievement which should shed a halo of glory upon his newly acquired imperial rank. He must have felt that on account of his superficial weaknesses he was looked upon almost with contempt by the officials of the capital, and still more by the rough legionaries, who had always been familiar with the presence of soldierly emperors in their midst—even the half-crazy Caligula had not failed to appear in camp in uniform. To this might be added the feelings of repulsion which Claudius held towards the mysterious cult and caste of the Druids with its stronghold in Britain, and still more or less alive in Gaul in spite of the strenuous attempts of Augustus and Tiberius to suppress it. The influence of this strange cult had been felt in Rome itself, and it seems probable that it was responsible for the dangerous revolt in Gaul of Florus and Sacrovir in A.D. 21.

Statesmanlike reasons were not wanting. As in the days of Caesar, the virtually independent island was a safe refuge for the disaffected in Gaul, and in addition, it was a potential source of danger under certain circumstances, such as those which made Dacia soon afterwards so formidable an enemy to Rome. To these reasons must be added a somewhat inflated impression of Britain's wealth, especially in the precious metals. Strabo, as already mentioned, states that the island was exporting during this period not merely corn, cattle, dogs, and iron (the last from the Wealden region), but also gold and silver.¹ The provenance of the gold is something

¹ Strabo, *Geographia*, Book IV. chap. v.

of a mystery, but the comparative abundance of British coins of this metal is undoubted evidence of some facility in procuring it. There is also no doubt that some of the princes and nobles were able to amass considerable wealth. Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, the husband of Boudicca, is a notable example of this type of high-born plutocrat. The powerful financial circles in which Claudius's Greek ministers, Pallas,¹ and Narcissus were prominent figures, doubtless brought their influence to bear since the annexation of a new province would mean fresh fields for financial operations, legal or otherwise. Men, generally supposed to be of high character, such as the philosopher Seneca, were leagued with this moneyed circle, and a great part of Seneca's immense fortune² was acquired by loans issued at usurious interest to the British nobles after the conquest.

Both the great public services—civil and military—looked with favour on the imperial project, the civil being attracted by the prospect of a fresh field of operations both as regards new appointments and new areas to tax. There was no lack of talented and ambitious officers for the high command, men such as Aulus Plautius, Ostorius Scapula, Corbulo, Suetonius Paulinus and Vespasian were only too ready to prove their mettle and win, if fortune favoured, the triumphal honours.

It should not be forgotten that Claudius's crazy predecessor Caligula had four years earlier probably weakened Roman prestige in Britain by the ostentatious concentration of a great force on the coast of Gaul opposite Britain and subsequent abandonment of what-

¹ Pallas was so wealthy, even from the modern standpoint, that Tacitus mentions his refusal of a gift of £150,000 (gold value).

² Seneca died worth 300,000,000 of sesterces, that is £3,000,000 in gold value, besides an enormous amount of personal property, including 500 ivory tables inlaid with citron wood. Dion Cassius, LXI. and LXII.

ever enterprise he had had in view.¹ There was thus, from the point of view of the Roman statesman, a real reason for vindicating the dignity of the Empire, and, lastly, there existed the need, which was always present, of keeping the legions actively occupied in military operations. The extent to which troops stationed on a peaceful frontier became demoralised and unserviceable may be realised from Tacitus's amazing account of the Syrian legions when taken over by Corbulo for the Parthian war.

Intervention was probably one of those happenings which may be termed inevitable, and it had been tending to become imminent since A.D. 39 to 40. For some forty years or more the greater part of South Britain had been united under the suzerainty of Cunobelinus, the grandson of Caesar's antagonist Cassivellaunus. Throughout his long reign he kept on friendly terms with Rome. About 39 or 40, when he had no doubt reached old age, one of his sons, Adminius, quarrelled with his father and fled to Caligula. This was the incident which incited the demented young Emperor to the display near Boulogne just mentioned, the futility of which is known. Shortly after the fiasco—but exactly when is not known—the aged *Rex Brittonum* passed away, leaving two sons certainly, Caratacus² and Togodubnus, and possibly a third, Bericus. It appears that there was a civil war between the three,

¹ Suetonius, *Caligula*, cap. 44.

² Caratacus is, of course, the Romanised form of a Celtic name which, at various times, may have been Caratac, Ceretic, Corotic, Cerdic and Caradoc. It is usually assumed by philologists that Caradoc is the latest form, but it is quite probable that the pronunciation varied in different parts of Britain. The form Caractacus is a late corruption, having no foundation whatsoever. As a rule, if it be desired to ascertain the Celtic form of British personal names mentioned by historians, some approximation to the original form may be obtained by dropping the Latin suffix *us* or *a*.

Caratacus and Togodubnus uniting against Bericus. This, however, is not quite certain, for the exact family affinity of Bericus is not known. It is, however, quite certain that he fled to Rome,¹ and that the two British kings demanded his extradition in undiplomatic if not violent terms.² It has been suggested that Bericus gave such information concerning the internal conditions of Britain that Claudius and his advisers were satisfied that a more favourable opportunity was unlikely to occur. This must have been at the very end of A.D. 42.

The fateful decision made, the organisation of the army of invasion was the next step. Four legions were selected with their accompanying auxiliaries and cavalry, which would probably mean a total nominal strength of nearly 60,000 men. The magnitude of the force is remarkable; it was as large as that which under Caesar had conquered Gaul in eight campaigns. The conquest of Britain, up to the Tyne, was to take the greater part of this large army not eight years, but eighty—a proof that the Roman strategists had not over-rated the warlike qualities of the inhabitants of Britain. The four legions chosen were taken from the finest armies of the Empire, those which defended the Rhine and the Danube against the fierce Germans and still more formidable Dacians. From the Army of the Rhine came the legions II “Augusta,” XIV “Gemina Martia Victrix,” and XX “Valeria Victrix”—the first and the last destined to remain in Britain until the last shadow of Roman dominion there had vanished. From the Army of the Danube came one of the “unlucky” units of the Roman army, Legio IX “Hispana,” which was to experience a more than usual proportion of disasters, and to meet annihilation in the sea-girt land which it had come to conquer. As a reserve to this already formidable force Claudius himself brought from

¹ Dion Cassius, LX. cap. 19.

² Suetonius, *Claudius*, 17.

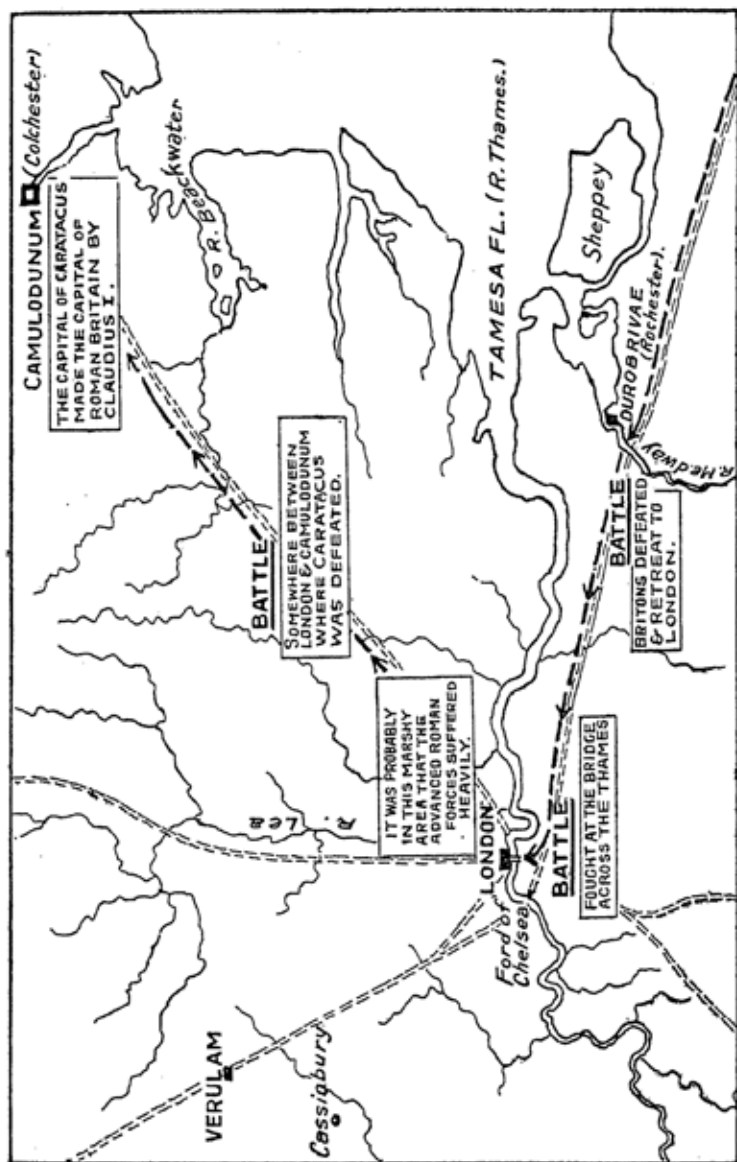
Rome part at least of the famous Praetorian Guard, and other troops, including a squadron of elephants. The chief command was given to Aulus Plautius—a veteran of long service, not only an able general, but very popular with the troops. Of the subordinate generals the most famous was the Sabine Titus Flavius Vespasianus, afterwards emperor, who almost certainly commanded Legio II. With him, probably as aide-de-camp, served his son Titus, in after years to join the group of the conquerors of Jerusalem.

A searching light is thrown upon the extent to which the Roman soldiers had come to regard themselves as fixtures in their frontier camps by the fact that all the four legions selected broke into something like mutiny when it became known that they were to be transported across the sea to unknown Britain. Claudius merely added fuel to the flames when, in order to soothe the discontent, he despatched as commissioner, of all people in the world, his minister Narcissus—a Greek, a civilian, and an ex-slave!

Eventually, by the exercising of the authority of the much-respected Aulus Plautius, these difficulties were overcome and the army sailed, landing in Britain without opposition.

It seems quite clear from the description, imperfect as it may be, given by Dion¹ that the march was direct from the coast (probably from Rutupiae) to Londinium, for the first resistance offered by the army of the British kings was behind a river which is called impassable, and, as from the context this could not have been the Thames, the alternative must be the Medway, there being no other river answering to the description between London and the Strait of Dover. Driven out of this position, mainly by the daring action of the North Gallic or German light infantry of the Roman

¹ Dion Cassius, 60.



THE CAMPAIGN OF CLAUDIUS I. IN A. D. 43.

The advance from the landing-place on the Kentish coast (near Sandwich) is indicated by the broken line and arrows.

army, "the Britons retreated to the river Thames at the point where it empties itself into the ocean and becomes an estuary at high tide; they passed it with ease, being well acquainted with the places which were practicable as fords, while the (inexperienced) Romans ran great risk in pursuing them."

Dion continues, "the Celts (*i.e.* the almost amphibious North Gallic light infantry just mentioned), however, again took to the water, and some of them forced the passage of the bridge which lies a little higher up (*i.e.* above the point which Dion considered the head of the estuary)."

The question now arises: "where exactly was this bridge situated?" There is no doubt at all that it crossed the Thames. Dion's words will bear no other interpretation. It is true that this historian is not always reliable and that he wrote more than a century and a half after the events, but it must be remembered that he was an official of the highest standing, and would have had access to all records, public and otherwise. His description of this part of the campaign is perfectly clear and straightforward to anyone with a little military knowledge and a fairly good eye for country. In the first century of this era the headwaters of the estuary of the Thames at high water would have been just below the present London Bridge. The still surviving and famous term "The Pool" appears to point unerringly to the existence in early times of a very marked broadening of the river between the Isle of Dogs and London Bridge. In addition to this, the point provided by nature for bridging the river is obvious, namely that at which the gravel bluff of London's site provides an admirable approach, and further, the site of Southwark was probably not of a marshy character.¹ Sir Charles Oman endorses this

¹ See p. 20 *infra*.

most emphatically.¹ His words are: "it is incredible that such a structure should have existed at any other point on the Thames estuary than that which was to bear the famous structure of later years." In fact, with little fear of error, the second engagement of the campaign of Plautius may be called the Battle of Londinium. It is true that Dion makes no reference to Londinium, and the book of Tacitus which deals with the campaign has yet to be found. The powerful reasons for the existence of a busy town and river port have been advanced in a previous chapter and the silence of the historian neither proves nor disproves anything. Dion is as parsimonious of names in describing the campaigns of Severus in Caledonia, although he wrote almost contemporaneously and may possibly have taken part in them. It should be mentioned that he again omits all reference to Londinium in his account of the struggle with Boudicca in A.D. 60, although it is clear from Tacitus that it played a vital part in the operations.

When the bridge was rushed and the British front was threatened by the attack of the auxiliaries across the river the defence collapsed, but the Romans suffered severely through pursuing the fugitives too rashly into marshes.² Presupposing that the centre of the British line of defence was the bridge, its flanks may have extended westward to the fords at Chelsea and Westminster and eastward to the site of the Tower beyond which lay the lower ground, perhaps marshy in places, of Barking and Limehouse. I suggest that the direction of retreat was eastward towards Caratacus's capital, Camulodunum (Colchester), and that in that case it was in the marshes of the Lea, just mentioned, that the Roman advanced "fore-riders" came to grief.

¹ *England before the Norman Conquest*, chap. v. p. 53.

² Dion Cassius, 60.

The occupation of Londinium and its bridge gave the Roman army a perfect base of operations for the conquest of the northern part of the empire of the Catuvellauni. In this first stage of the campaign, Caratacus had lost his brother, Togodubnus, possibly in this very battle at Londinium, and doubtless his incoherent forces had suffered heavily, but Dion says that the losses of the Roman army had been so severe that it was virtually immobilised until the arrival of Claudius with reinforcements. Although, again, there is no definite statement as to the position at which the army rested, beyond the information that it was on the Thames, there seems every reason to believe that it was in or near Londinium. What had happened to the town during the conflict is unknown; even if it had remained intact it could not have afforded shelter for more than a very small fraction of the large Roman army with its huge baggage train. According to the castrametation rules given by Hyginus, a Roman imperial army, nearly 50,000 strong, with at least 20,000 horses and as many non-combatants, encamped for the night in a space of eighty-six acres. For a residential camp or cantonment much more space was naturally required, but even so, from fifty to sixty acres was deemed sufficient for a legion of 7000 men with its staff, servants, and stores. Therefore the area of the twin-hills, afterwards included within the Roman walls of Londinium, was amply sufficient to accommodate the army of Plautius for some weeks.

On the night of the battle, according to the invariable and immemorial custom of the Romans, the camp would have been fortified with a palisaded embankment and ditch. On the hypothesis that the British town lay east of the Wallbrook in the angle between that stream and the Thames, the most convenient camping-ground for a large army would have been between the Wall-

brook and the Fleet river, the centre of which would have been roughly the site of St Paul's Cathedral. It is also quite conceivable that entrenchments were thrown up outside the town itself, and its fairly substantial buildings used as store-houses, offices, and field hospitals—nothing is more likely, although, in the circumstances, namely those of more or less continuous destruction and rebuilding, it is impossible to offer any absolute proof. Small outpost camps would have been placed where necessary in the outskirts, and the perimeter of the zone of effective occupation would in a day or two have extended over many miles.

In due course the Emperor arrived at the Thames, and thus London for the second time witnessed the entry of a Roman Caesar. On this occasion there must have been considerable pomp and circumstance, for Claudius was escorted by the Praetorian Guard and other picked troops, while the presence of a squadron of elephants would have added an unusual touch of barbaric pomp to the scene. How these heavy quadrupeds were conveyed across the river is purely a matter for conjecture. Had the Roman engineers any doubts as to the advisability of bringing them across the wooden bridge until it had been very much strengthened, there would have been the simple alternative of the ford at Chelsea and possibly Westminster. Yet another method might be suggested, that of the raft as adopted by Hannibal when crossing the Rhone, but the shallow and meandering Thames of A.D. 43 was a vastly simpler obstacle to overcome than the broad, deep and impetuous Rhone, and one of the fords would have made the task an easy one.

Seeing that this ceremonious military spectacle was the very first of its kind which Londinium ever witnessed, it is appropriate to make some attempt to picture the scene. As a guide there is the brief account given by

Tacitus¹ of the triumphal entry of Vitellius in A.D. 69. In this case the procedure would be somewhat different seeing that it was the reception of his Emperor by a victorious general. Claudius, in military attire of gold-plated cuirass, elaborately ornamented and cloaked in purple, on horseback, or perhaps in a chariot, followed by his brilliant assemblage of officials and officers and escorted by the gorgeously uniformed Praetorian Guard, would have been met presumably at the bridge-head by Plautius and his staff. Behind the commander-in-chief would have marched the principal officers of the four legions, that is the *legati legionum* (=generals of legions); the *praefecti castrorum* (=quartermaster-generals); the *tribuni* (=colonels) and *primipili* or *primi pili centuriones* (=principal centurions, possibly equivalent to majors or senior captains). Behind each group of senior officers would be the eagle of the legion and the ten cohort standards. After the legionary officers and standards would come those of the cavalry regiments, and lastly, those of the numerous auxiliary cohorts.



THE CAPRICORN BADGE
OF LEGIO II AUGUSTA.

The eagles of the legions would have taken position in order of seniority, and in that case, at the head of the procession would have been the gilded capricorn of Legio II "Augusta," that curious compound of goat and fish, not improbably granted to it in commemoration of its great services in the Alps and at Augustus's famous naval victories at

Actium and on the coast of Sicily. Close to the eagle was to be seen the strongly-built sturdy figure of its commander, Titus Flavius Vespasianus, who, twenty-six years later, was to be Emperor of Rome. His features, familiar down the centuries from coins and marble busts, were those of the hardy Sabine farmer type, which must

¹ *Historia*, Book II. chap. lxxxix.

have been one of the strongest elements in the composition of the Roman race. Following Vespasian would come the staffs of two legions which dated back to the first and mightiest of the Caesars, the IXth "Hispana" and the XIVth "Gemina Martia Victrix," the latter destined seventeen years afterwards to win the proud title of "*Domitores Britanniae*." Last, but not least, came the officers and standards of the XXth "Valeria Victrix," with its badge of the wild-boar glittering on the shields of the escort. After the formal reception of the officers, the legions which had fought their way to Londinium would have been reviewed in gala uniform, those who had won decorations, displaying them with pride.



THE WILD BOAR.
Badge of Legio XX Valeria
Victrix.

After this spectacle the united army marched upon Camulodunum, where Caratacus was preparing to make his last stand as "*Rex Brittonum*." The decisive battle was fought somewhere on the road between the two towns, and the Britons being totally defeated and Camulodunum occupied, Claudius made preliminary arrangements for the constitution of South Britain as a new province of the Roman Empire with its capital at Camulodunum, and wasted no time in returning to the Continent. As he is said ¹ to have only spent sixteen days in Britain it is possible that he sailed from the new capital, and in that case he saw no more of Londinium but merely passed across the mouth of the Thames. No doubt he took back with him many British captives, and it is interesting to find that a Briton became one of his litter bearers. The existence of an inscription to this man—Lucius Quadratus—seems to indicate that he may have become a favoured attendant.² At this stage

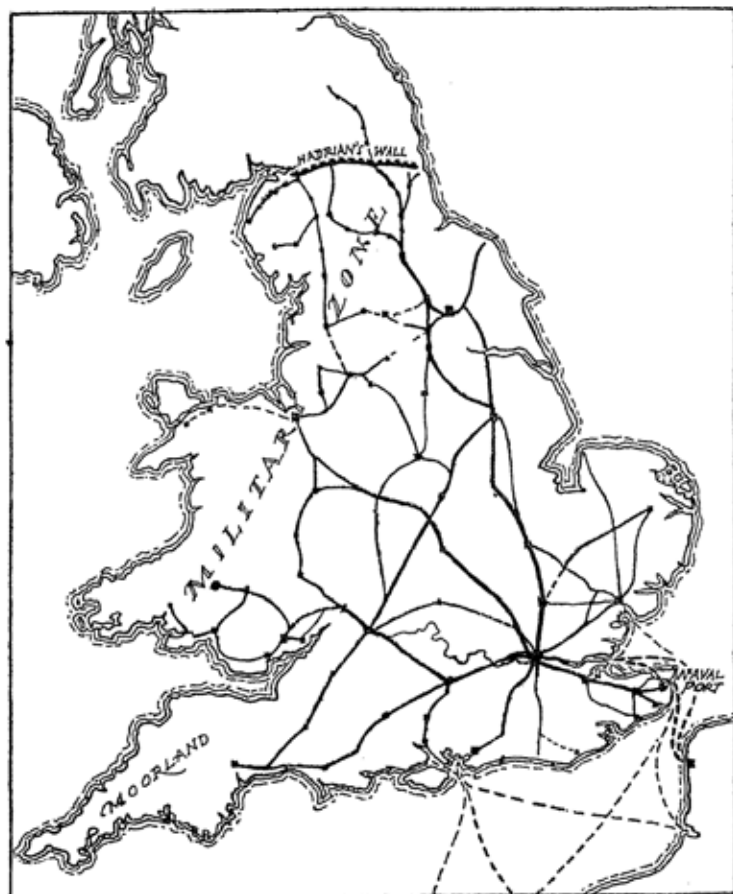
¹ Suetonius.

² *C.I.L.*, vol: vi. II., 8873.

of its development therefore, Londinium, in spite of what has been inferred in the previous chapter, was not selected at this moment as the capital of the new province in spite of its obvious advantages of site and its centrality. The reasons for its being passed over were obviously, first, that it possessed no royal associations such as those appertaining to Camulodunum, Verulamium or Calleva, all of which had been the capitals of powerful British princes, and, secondly, that in all probability Camulodunum possessed buildings constructed by the wealthy Cunobelin, whose long rule and association with the Empire would have given both opportunity and incentive to house himself as befitted a king who had relations with Augustus. It should also be remembered that Claudius's hurried visit gave him time for only superficial considerations; he simply established the seat of government in the former royal capital.

Within a very short time, Camulodunum undoubtedly showed itself quite unfitted, by its position, to be the capital of Roman Britain. Indeed, there is some reason for believing that it was very early superseded for all practical purposes. In A.D. 60, when Boudicca's revolt was imminent, it was obliged to send for military assistance to the Imperial Procurator, *i.e.* the Provincial Treasurer; ¹ obviously, therefore, the actual administration had already been shifted elsewhere. Who will suggest any other town than Londinium as being this new centre? It is hard to imagine under the Roman governmental system the separation of such a vitally important department from the centre of government. I take it that by the year 60 Londinium had inevitably assumed the position of capital; indeed, it may have been deliberately selected by the practically-minded officials on account of its manifold and obvious advantages. After six months' acquaintance with the country

¹ Tacitus, Book XIV. chap. xxxii.



MAP OF BRITAIN SHOWING THE PRINCIPAL ROMAN ROADS.

Names are purposely omitted in order that the radiation of all arterial roads from one point may be clear. That the capital was at the centre of that concentration need not be questioned.

these advantages must have urged themselves at every turn.

The immediate effects upon the place are told in a single laconic sentence from the pen of Tacitus¹:—"although not honoured with the title of colony, it was highly renowned as a wealthy commercial centre thronged with business men." This brief but emphatic statement demonstrates very clearly the rapid progress made in seventeen years, during which Britain was still in process of subjugation, although the actual fighting front had been steadily advanced towards the north and west, and by this time had passed the Midlands. There had come not only the Roman troops, but in their wake followed numerous civilians who, during this early period, realising that southern Britain was now comparatively safe, would have entered the country, tempted by the prospect of forming profitable business connections. It is quite easy to picture the many openings for money-making in a rich and largely undeveloped country which would quickly stimulate manufactures and certain forms of local enterprise. All mining operations were, of course, the perquisite of the Emperor, but there was ample scope for private enterprise in dealings in corn, cattle, fisheries and other matters, including the importation of pottery, glass, and fine manufactured goods of various kinds. A most important branch of this immigrant activity, if not a very reputable one, was the money-lending business, which, as so often in a developing country, was already becoming a source of danger.

It seems that Claudius had secured the allegiance of many British nobles by means of large monetary advances, but besides this, many prominent magnates,

¹ *Annales*, Book XIV. chap. xxxiii. Translation: "*Cognomento quidem coloniae non insigne, sed copia negotiatorum et commeatumum maxime celebre.*"

notably the philosopher Seneca, were immersed in usurious transactions. The somewhat careless and ostentatious British chiefs and landowners were an easy prey. All this multiplicity of enterprise would have brought in its wake much building activity, although it need not be inferred from this that the new dwellings and offices were constructed of stone or even brick, except for foundations. Brick and tile manufacturers may have found it difficult to keep pace with the early demand, and thus walls were more likely to have been of timber and rough cast than of the more durable materials which were later to be employed in Londinium. According to Mr F. Lambert,¹ who has made a special study of excavations, and records of earlier ones, in central London, the first Roman Londinium was for the most part a town of half-timber and plaster buildings which a general conflagration presently reduced to red dust, mingled with burnt glass and pottery and coins fused by intense heat. It is interesting to note that a large majority of the coins were those of Claudius I.²

The question of the construction of defences at Londinium during this period now arises. In the first place it seems clear that immediately after the campaign of 43, Londinium ceased to be involved in military operations, although for a long time it must have been

¹ F. Lambert, M.A., F.S.A., *Archæologia*, vol. lxxi. pp. 55 *sqq.*

² It is an important point that no coins later than Claudius have been found in this stratum of destruction, excepting one of Galba (A.D. 68), which may have worked itself down by some special chance—in the same manner as a nineteenth-century preserved meat tin was found at a lower level in the excavations of Stonehenge than the stone mauls with which the monoliths were dressed. It would therefore seem that the latest money in circulation in Londinium in the year 60 was that of an emperor whose reign had commenced nineteen years before, and had been dead for six. This may be partly explained by the slow movement of money from the mints, and also by the fact that Nero struck no copper until 64, and thus there would be no coins in that metal in Londinium until long after the Boudiccan revolt.

the principal military base in Britain. There is almost definite evidence for believing that Londinium was without permanent defences at this time; Camulodunum certainly did not possess any. The practice under the Roman Empire seems never to have contemplated the walling of towns unless on the military frontier. There is no real evidence for the systematic fortification of towns in the interior of the Empire until the barbarian irruptions of the third century, when the frontier defences, hitherto regarded as an impregnable barrier, were penetrated. Certain places constructed as fortresses, such as Byzantium and Cremona, retained their ancient walls, but Londinium was not one of these, being an open and probably somewhat straggling commercial settlement which had grown up by the force of circumstances and the advantages of the situation.

The preconception that some form of elaborately constructed citadel existed in Roman London has led various modern writers on the subject to search for evidences in support of this theory. An area has been plotted out east of Wallbrook.

Roach Smith, impressed by the massive character of the Roman walls discovered when Cannon Street station was being built, was inclined to assume the existence of an inner fortification of London. His suggested boundaries of this earlier enclosure were: on the west side from the Thames along Wallbrook to the Mansion House where it turned eastward, roughly parallel with Cornhill and Leadenhall Street to Mark Lane which formed the eastern boundary of this purely theoretical enclosure. The conscientious and cautious investigator of Roman London was careful to state that his ideas were "almost wholly speculative."¹ Mr Arthur Taylor² seems to have been one of the first to

¹ *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 14.

² *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii, "The Original Site of Roman London."

develop the theory of quite a small enclosure at the head of London Bridge, bounded on the north by Cannon Street and Eastcheap, and his suggestion was more or less adopted by Loftie,¹ by Sir Laurence Gomme,² and by Mr F. W. Reader.³ The area suggested by Roach Smith was the most reasonable in so far as it comprised a space large enough to contain a legion, but that indicated in a plan given in Sir Laurence Gomme's book is only sufficient to house about three cohorts. It should be emphasised that all this is theorising, built up on scarcely any archæological evidence whatever; in fact, all that has been brought to light which supports such an idea is the discovery of walls under Cannon Street station, already mentioned, and portions of others in Cornhill, extending from the corner of Birchin Lane to Gracechurch Street. Near the Church of St Peter and under that of St Michael have been found, since 1891, Roman walls from 6 to 12 feet thick, but their plan is involved and bears no relation to the line of the street or of the churches. The inference to be drawn from the portions of massive walls discovered in this part of the centre of the Roman city is that here, as at the present day, were grouped the most important structures of Londinium, and that such buildings, notably temples and treasuries, may well have had sub-structures of great solidity. With the scanty evidence at present available one is compelled to admit that it is still impossible to come to any definite conclusion as to there having ever been a citadel in Londinium. The lower portions of a fairly heavy wall, unearthed at the rebuilding of the Guardian Assurance Company's offices at the foot of King William Street in 1921, pointed nearly north and south and gave no

¹ W. J. Loftie, *History of London*, chap. i. p. 31.

² *The Governance of London*, pp. 78 *sqq.*

³ *Archæological Jour.*, vol. lx. pp. 137-204 and 213-235.

indications from which one could feel that it was associated with defensive works. The structures beneath Cannon Street station need have had no warlike purpose, for in such a position as the alluvial bank of the Wallbrook, heavy substructures would have been a pure necessity before any large permanent buildings could have been erected close to the stream. Further than this it is quite possible that these were the quay walls.

The undoubted truth seems to be that there *was not* any inner citadel of Londinium as early as A.D. 60. On this point the evidence of Tacitus,¹ a nearly contemporary authority, who had access to the best possible information, probably from his father-in-law, is conclusive. He writes of the sack by Boudicca of Camulodunum, Verulamium, and Londinium, and explains in the clearest terms why the three greatest cities of Roman Britain should thus have been destroyed; it was because the rebels deliberately avoided the Roman fortresses and garrisoned posts and fell upon defenceless places where they could obtain abundant plunder and gratify their desire for revenge. His words are: "*Quia barbari omissis castellis praesidiisque militarium, quod uberrimum spoliandi et defendentibus untutum, laeti praeda et aliorm segnes petebant.*" From this it is abundantly clear that there can have been no fortification worth the name in A.D. 60. This is indirectly borne out by the fact that when Suetonius reached London from Anglesey, he dared not make a stand there against the pursuing host of Boudicca, but of this more anon.

Summing up the evidence, it seems fairly obvious that, admitting the probability that for some time in A.D. 43 and 44 there was at Londinium some form of entrenched camp, it cannot have been of a permanent nature.

¹ Tacitus, *Annales*, Book XIV. chap. xxxii and xxxiii.

When the army moved on to fresh conquests and the town ceased to be a military headquarters, there can be little doubt that earthworks would have been an inconvenience in a rapidly growing commercial centre, and levelling would follow as a matter of course. It is hard to imagine that any portions of them would survive except where they imposed no obstacle to the building and other activities of the new population. Finally, it is impossible to ignore the very precise testimony of Tacitus.

For the seventeen years following the conquest, Londinium grew and prospered, and those who had known it in 43 and revisited it after that interval of time would have doubtless rubbed their eyes with astonishment at the changes which had taken place. The population must have increased with remarkable rapidity, notwithstanding the fact that in the special circumstances a large proportion would have been floating or migratory. The number of ships entering and clearing "the Pool" would have been steadily increasing and the volume of trade could not have failed to increase by leaps and bounds, although exports would presumably have grown slowly in comparison with imports.

The presence of a number of officials and wealthy business men must have resulted in the development of a considerable degree of comfort in the houses and in some cases it may have reached luxury. At the same time the floating nature of a large proportion of the population would have tended to create a somewhat desultory and straggling fringe to the more dignified central portion near the Wallbrook and the bridge-head.

This nascent prosperity was now to be checked by a really great disaster. In A.D. 60, when the bulk of the army was far away on the frontier between Lincoln, Anglesey, and Caerleon-on-Usk, the whole supposedly subjugated region in its rear broke into open revolt.

There were many reasons for the outbreak, and it must be admitted that both the Roman military and civil authorities were gravely at fault. Ostorius Scapula, the predecessor of the then Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief (Legatus Augusti pro-Praetore) Suetonius Paulinus, had founded a colony for time-expired veterans at Camulodunum.¹ To find lands for these military settlers, the British farmers had been expropriated without compensation, while the personal conduct of the soldier colonists was licentious and oppressive in the highest degree.² Secondly, the Procurator, Decianus Catus, was calling for the repayment, no doubt at the demand of his extravagant master Nero, of the loans which had been made by Claudius, as already mentioned, to his British supporters. Thirdly, the "virtuous" Seneca had chosen this moment to call in without warning, loans amounting to 10,000,000 sesterces (£100,000 gold value); thus scores of British landowners were confronted with ruin, if not actual slavery.³ Finally, it should be added that there is evidence that the discipline of the army was in a most unsatisfactory state.

To all this mass of combustible material the torch was set by the execrable behaviour of Roman officers towards Boudicca,⁴ the widow of Prasutagus, the late king of the Iceni. This prince was renowned for his great wealth, which he bequeathed by will in the proportion of one half to the Emperor Nero, and the other half to his two daughters. The Icenian territory included Norfolk and neighbouring parts and occupied a semi-independent position analogous to that of Cappadocia and Commagene under the Romans and that of Kashmir under British rule. By his politic will Prasutagus hoped to ensure an

¹ Colchester.

² Tacitus, *Annales*, Book XIV. chap. xxxi.

³ Xiphilinus, *Epitome of Dion Cassius*, IX. 2.

⁴ This name appears to be the Celtic for Victoria.



1. BRONZE STATUETTE OF AN ARCHER.

It is one of the finest examples of bronze moulding found in Britain (*British Museum*).

2. Bronze handle of a jug or urn. The head is very finely modelled (*London Museum*).
3. Small bronze statuette of Minerva (*Guildhall Museum*).
4. Bronze cock inlaid with champlevé enamel, probably British workmanship—Royal Exchange (*British Museum*).
5. Pipeclay figure of Leda and Swan (*Guildhall Museum*).

honourable security for his family, but the very reverse was the case. It would seem that there was a dispute between Paulinus and Catus on the subject of the execution of the will; apparently the former won the day and sent some centurions to take over the Imperial share. Tacitus says that these officers showed themselves to be of the most disreputable character; they literally despoiled the kingdom, while the dead king's palace was sacked by their slaves. Queen Boudicca was actually flogged, and her daughters were violated. The result might have been foreseen. Rebellion was imminent, and these outrages gave it a leader of the highest rank. Boudicca, maddened by this inhuman treatment, led the revolt, and in a short time had achieved greater successes than all the British leaders before her.

The rebels began by sacking the unfortified Camulodunum, while Suetonius was isolated with two of his four legions far away in Anglesey. Boudicca then turned to meet Petillius Cerealis, who was advancing to attack her with Legio IX from its station at Lindum (Lincoln), and inflicted upon him a crushing defeat. The infantry of his force was entirely annihilated, and he only succeeded in escaping to Lindum with the survivors of his cavalry. These various operations, however, had occupied time, and Suetonius was thus able to force his way through the Midlands to Londinium before the victorious British could make their way south in sufficient force.

The fact that Suetonius aimed for Londinium when he evacuated Anglesey proves very clearly that it was the strategic focus of Roman Britain. A glance at the map of Britain at that time is sufficient to show that under the circumstances (=a revolt in East Anglia) it was the natural place of assembly of the three isolated portions of the army of occupation.

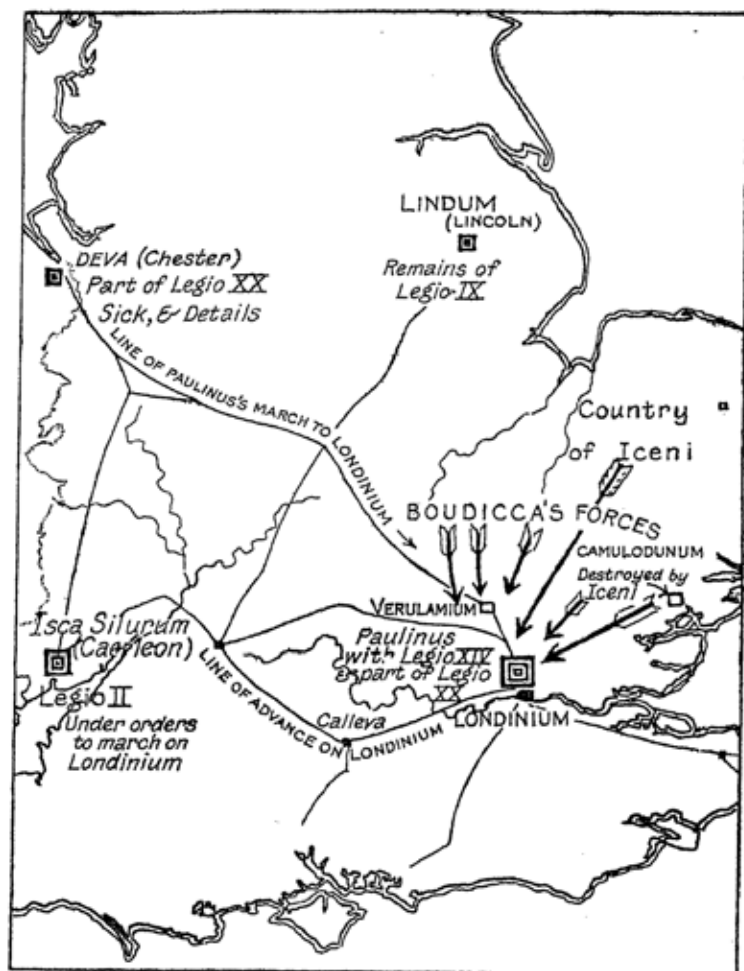
What actually happened at Londinium on the out-

break of the great rebellion is not fully known. One thing, however, is certain; Catus, panic-stricken at the thought of what would befall him at the hands of the justly exasperated Britons, fled to Gaul, leaving his colleague and his subordinates to extricate themselves as well as they could. It is certain that the place was choked with panic-stricken refugees when the troops of Paulinus, after their desperate march across the country, came tramping into the town from the north. Judging from the allusions of Tacitus, Paulinus had expected to find awaiting him the IXth Legion from Lindum and the IIInd from Isca Silurum. It is beyond doubt that this last-named corps had received direct orders to join him, but its general was ill or absent, and the second in command failed to realise the gravity of the crisis. So, when Suetonius arrived, he found in Londinium nothing but such few units as had succeeded in reaching it, while Boudicca's victory-intoxicated host was not far in the rear. Worst of all there was a dangerous shortage of provisions.¹

Tacitus states that Suetonius hesitated as to whether he should or should not make a stand at Londinium. Considering the weakness of his army, which was only some 10,000 strong all told, and having learnt of the disaster which had befallen Legio IX he decided that to save the entire situation it was essential to sacrifice the town. He accordingly evacuated it, accompanied by all who were able or willing to follow his march, but a very large number stayed behind, partly owing to physical inability, and to some extent, from an unwillingness to leave the spot.² All those who decided to remain or were unable to follow the march of the retreating Roman forces were massacred by the oncoming forces of Boudicca. Evidence as to the destruction

¹ Xiphilinus, *Epitome of Dion Cassius*.

² Tacitus, *Annales*, Book XIV. chap. xxxiii.



LONDINIUM DURING THE BOUDICCA REVOLT.

Paulinus, with the XIVth and part of the XXth legion, marched upon the capital to effect a concentration of his forces. He arrived, having passed through Verulamium (St Albans) just before the Britons swept down upon it and sacked the place. Londinium being unfortified and Legio II not having arrived, Paulinus abandoned the town, and it was consequently destroyed by Boudicca.

which came upon the town are to be found in a thick layer of burnt building material, pottery, and fused coins, and one is, therefore, on fairly sure ground in believing that the settlement went up in flames.

Before Paulinus decided on the direction of his retreat he had to consider the whole strategic situation. There were detachments of his army at Lindum and Deva (Chester), but, to reach either of them, it would be necessary to penetrate right through the hosts of Boudicca who were fully astride his road to either camp. Further, his army was small, overworked, short of provisions, and encumbered by a horde of uncontrolled non-combatants. Even if he were to have the luck to break through the intervening host, how much better off would he be at either destination? At Lindum he could only find the discouraged remnant of the IXth Legion; at Deva he would have received no great numerical additions to his force, while in either case he would be moving to a remote corner of the province, entirely sacrificing his communications with the Continent, and leaving practically the whole country at the mercy of the insurgents. The suggestion made by both Merivale and Furneaux, that he made a "flank march" (!) to Camulodunum, carried with it the necessity for plunging into a wasted country, fully in the occupation of the enemy with, as his objective, a deserted heap of ruins infected with putrifying corpses. Surely such a suggestion hardly needs further refutation.

The strategy now imposed upon Paulinus was one of sheer necessity. Firstly, wherever he went and whatever he did, he was obliged to feed his army and those non-combatants with whom his humanity had encumbered it. Secondly, he must, as quickly as possible, obtain reinforcements in order that he might have a fair chance of giving battle with some success. Thirdly, he must maintain or re-open his communication with the Con-

tinent, since only thus could his depleted army be strengthened with men and military stores and disembarrass itself of its crowd of refugees. Supplies could undoubtedly be found either in fertile Kent, in Hampshire or, at the worst, in Gloucestershire.

Considering all these circumstances it is clear that the second could only be fulfilled by taking a westward direction towards the one complete strategic unit in the island over and above his own army. This was Legio II, stationed in South Wales, but by this time (if his orders, sent possibly nearly twenty days before, and doubtless reiterated, had been executed) must have been at last on its march to join him. That it really was on its way seems proved by the statement of Tacitus that the dilatory Praefectus Castrorum killed himself when he learnt that his delay had resulted in the loss by the IInd Legion of the glory reaped by the XIVth and XXth.

Communication with the Continent could be maintained either in Kent or Hampshire, but only by moving to the south-west could he fulfil all the requirements of the situation at one and the same time. His first objective would naturally be Calleva Atrebatum (Silchester in Hampshire), and it may be taken as a matter of the most common sense military precaution that the road north of the Thames leading to that place via Staines would have been avoided, since it would expose the right flank (north) to the attack of the British host, while on the left (south) lay the marsh-bordered Thames.

Therefore, Paulinus in Londinium, compelled to make the decision to place the river between him and his enemy would have been obliged to cross it in order to gain the hills of Surrey and move westward, by whatever ridgeway existed, in the direction of *the only region in which he would find at once reinforcements and supplies*. There can

be no reasonable doubt that this was the course which he adopted.

It should here be mentioned that many writers in the past have suggested the spot near King's Cross, known as Battle Bridge, as the scene of the famous victory which followed shortly after the evacuation of London. A reference to Tacitus's account of the battle in which a defile (or defiles), enclosed in the rear by woods, are mentioned, rules out this locality. Further, in going out in this direction, far from evacuating Londinium, Paulinus would have been defending it, and in a far less favourable position than that of the town with its natural defensibility. In addition, there is the emphatic statement of Dion¹ that Paulinus wished to avoid a battle, and the same inference is to be made from Tacitus. It is hardly necessary to point out once more that a northward move was merely to hasten the conflict which the Roman general particularly desired to avoid.

Whether the advanced parties of Boudicca's forces engaged the Roman rearguard or not is purely a matter of conjecture, save for the indirect evidence afforded by the words put into the mouth of Paulinus by Dion when he reminded his men, just before the battle, that some of them had actually witnessed the atrocities perpetrated by the Britons on their conquered foes. This may be purely an invention on the part of Dion, but the practice of conveying information indirectly by means of imaginary harangues was common among the classical writers and the statement therefore should not be entirely disregarded. In that case it is permissible to picture rearguard cohorts making a final stand in the streets converging upon the bridge-head, while the last of the refugees were crowding across the narrow path to safety and the *fabri* were busy completing their

¹ Xiphilinus, *Epitome of Dion Cassius*.

preparations for destruction as soon as the last of the legionaries should have crossed. The usual method of destruction of wooden bridges under such circumstances was by fire—a method continued right down to the nineteenth century. A typical instance was at the bridges of the Bérézina during Napoleon's retreat from Moscow. Both ends on the Russian side of the river were fired simultaneously with perfect success.

Paulinus, by his evacuation of Londinium, had saved his army, but the town was perforce left to its fate. Tacitus's description of what befell it is contained in four terribly emphatic words: "*Caedes, patibula, ignes, cruces*" = massacre, gibbets, fire, and crucifixion crosses. It is said that in the sack of the Roman cities Boudicca's following behaved with peculiar ferocity to the Roman women who fell into their hands. The number of persons massacred in the three places (Camulodunum, Verulamium, and Londinium) is given by Tacitus¹ at 70,000 Roman subjects and friendly Britons. The number is perhaps an exaggeration, but in view of the widespread nature of the revolt it may be not far from the truth. The final phases of the campaign and the great victory of Paulinus do not concern the present narrative save that as an immediate result the burnt-out ruins of Londinium were re-occupied. Although the British warrior-queen had committed suicide and many thousands of Britons had fallen, the rebellion was far from being quelled; in fact, the failure of Paulinus as a governor was so obvious that in spite of his military ability he had to be re-called in the ensuing year, and Tacitus hints obscurely that the reason was a further disaster of some description. He was superseded by Publius Petronius Turpilianus, a clement and tactful

¹ Tacitus, *Annales*, Book XIV. chap. xxxiii. "Ad septuaginta milia civium et sociorum iis quae memoravi locis cecidisse constitit."

administrator who apparently, by conciliatory methods, re-established Roman authority on a sounder and more enduring basis than that afforded by martial law and occasional military and administrative licence.

There need be no doubt that under Petronius Londinium arose from its ashes, and with the restoration of peace it must quickly have recovered its former importance. It is quite possible that under this trained administrator, who had been consul in the previous year, Londinium officially reached the status of capital, a position it had probably held previous to the disaster; in any case it is impossible to imagine a place more absolutely suited in every respect to be the headquarters of a man whose task it was to heal the wounds of war and bring contentment and loyalty out of smouldering hostility and distrust. It is recorded that offensive military operations were suspended for nearly ten years. A significant hint as to the policy of Petronius and his successor, Marcus Trebellius Maximus, is given by Tacitus, who says that the troops accused the latter of meanness and parsimony which clearly points to a policy of cautious economy. Evidently Britain was no longer under the flaying-knife. The historian further says that their administration was popular, and that the Britons, as he notes in his carping fashion, began to acquire a taste for the alluring vices of civilisation;¹ in other words, there was less military activity, and no doubt much road building, town planning, and the erection of comfortable houses.

It may be quite safely concluded that at the end of these ten peaceful years an excellent beginning had been made of transforming the desultory-built trading centre into the dignified capital which Londinium was destined to become. Baths and porticoes and other

¹ Tacitus, *Agricola*, XVI.

signs of Romanisation were not, according to Tacitus, lacking under the rule of the brilliant Agricola, but while he gives the credit to his father-in-law, the foundations of the new prosperity were laid by his peaceful predecessors.



BRONZE HEAD OF HADRIAN.

Found in the bed of the Thames at London Bridge. It is the only portrait bust of a Roman Emperor recorded to have been discovered in Britain.

(British Museum.)

CHAPTER IV

THE RISE OF LONDINIUM FROM A.D. 60-286

THOSE who would trace the progress of Londinium after the year 60 are now confronted with a prolonged interval—a period of over two centuries, during which there is no mention of the city in any extant classical writer. This, however, will surprise no one who is acquainted with the indifference to topographical details shown by the historians of the time and even by Tacitus, who describes all his famous father-in-law's successive campaigns in Britain without mentioning a single town.¹

It is proverbial that periods of great prosperity produce little for the journalist to seize upon, and no picturesque events which may attract the attention of the unscientific historian. And this period may be regarded as one of steadily growing importance and wealth, so that towards its close, Londinium ranked among the greater Roman cities in the Western Empire.

History being silent, one is thrown back on archæology—the elusive handmaid of the greater science.

Here, as has been emphasised in Chapter I, the conditions are exceedingly difficult owing to the perennial disturbance of the site by the sinking of ever deeper foundations. But, mangled and distorted as this evidence may be, there emerge from it such powerful indications of the existence of a really large and wealthy city that any reasonable doubt ceases to exist regarding what was in progress in these two pregnant centuries.

¹ An apparent exception may be found in the reference to Portus Trutulensis, which *may* be Rutupiae; but that name was so well known that such a blundered rendering is scarcely likely. It might conceivably be some harbour in the south-west of Britain.

Until the very end of the period with which this chapter deals there were no threats of invasion from the Continent, and the peace of southern Britain was unbroken throughout. From the year 60 to about 125, when first the Welsh tribes, and then the Brigantes of the north, were slowly reduced to submission, Londinium, as the great arterial centre of Britain, could not avoid being affected in various ways. That it was the base depôt for supplies and munitions was almost inevitable, and that the volume of its business transactions was greatly increased owing to this cause cannot be doubted.

In this early period of reconstruction and expansion, the forum of Londinium would become the great centre of news as to successes, checks, or reverses experienced in the North and West. It is easy to imagine the excitement and what would to-day be called "jingo" talk among the crowd of traders, brokers, and loungers when one of Agricola's couriers brought the news of another "brilliant" victory over the elusive Caledonians, or, conversely, there must have been "black days" of defeatism followed by calculations of bad debts, when the evil tidings filtered through that Legio IX had been annihilated in that still mysterious disaster in the North. Optimism and anticipation of an influx of profitable customers for a large variety of needs would have become widespread when it was announced that the Emperor Hadrian was on his way to Britain with reinforcements.

This slight picture may be termed imagination, but it is of that type which Napoleon, who was accustomed to deal in realities, termed *imagination juste*, for no reasonable writer has ever questioned that Londinium at this period was growing more rapidly than any town in Britain, and that its growth was due to its favoured position. The port or "pool" reflected this progress, and the number of ships entering and clearing could not

have failed to be steadily increasing. To accommodate the influx, greater wharfage would have been required year by year, with a corresponding need for warehouses of a more substantial type than those hurriedly put up after the defeat of Boudicca.



AN AMPHORA TYPICAL OF THOSE FOUND THROUGHOUT THE WALLED AREA OF LONDON.

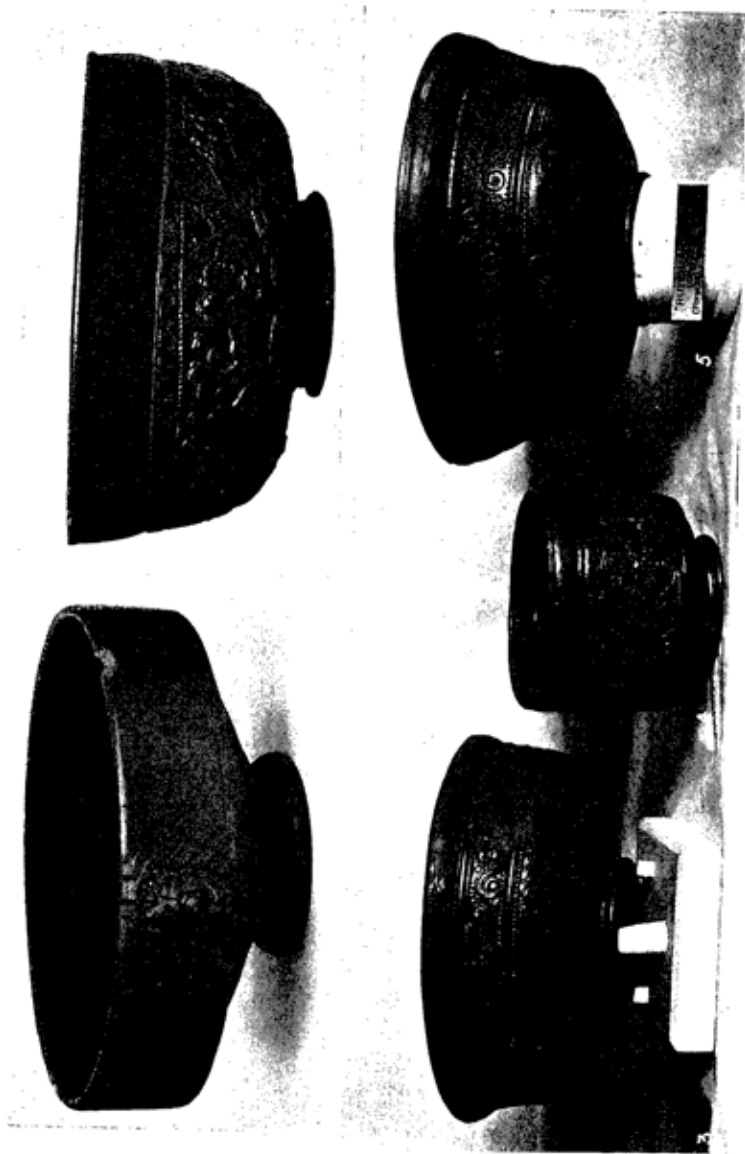
2 ft. 11 ins. high.

(Guardian Assurance Company's Offices, King William Street.)

An important feature of such a seafaring centre would have been the docks, although no trace of them which has so far been recognised has come to light. None the less that they did exist may be taken to be as certain as the need of ropes and bollards. The heavy seagoing craft which came up the Thames laden with Gallic pottery, wine, and olive oil in great jars (*amphorae*) from Italy, carpets and richly-coloured woven fabrics from Egypt, silk, perfumery, ivory and, above all, pepper and spices from the Far East, required "graving and tallowing" even as their Elizabethan successors, and indeed all wooden ships before the days of copper-sheathing. Most probably these indispensable features of a port were below the bridge and, owing to the subsidence of the land to which reference has already been made,¹ must now be buried beneath many feet of Thames mud.

No doubt, as is still the case with small vessels all over the world, repairs to hulls were effected by careening between tides where beaches were suitable, but in a city of the importance of Londinium docks and dockyard labour were part of the ordinary economy. That they were, for the most part, below the bridge may be taken as

¹ P. 20 *supra*.



EXAMPLES OF RED GLAZED WARE IMPORTED FROM GAUL, KNOWN AS SAMIAN OR TERRA SIGILLATA
FROM VARIOUS SITES IN LONDON.

1. An unusual type of mostarium, with a spout in the form of an animal's head, *Lézoux* pottery. Auvergne, late second century.
2. A large bowl ornamented with lions (form 37), *Lézoux*, 100-130 A.D. St Mildred's Court (*both British Museum*).
3. Kutenian bowl from La Graullesque, circa A.D. 40-60 (form 59), Gracechurch Street.
4. Early type of South Gaulish cylindrical bowl (form 50), circa A.D. 50 (all three *Lancon Museum*).
5. Kutenian bowl (form 59), circa A.D. 50.

probable, but there may have been building slips and repair yards at the mouths of the Wallbrook and the Fleet, as well as on the Southwark shore.

There were occasions when, by bad seamanship or stress of weather, an incoming vessel met with disaster in the estuary. One such mishap is known to have occurred some time about A.D. 180, when Marcus Aurelius, the last of "the five good Emperors," lay dying in his camp on the Danube. A ship laden with Gallic pottery from the great Auvergnat centre of Lezoux was wrecked on the Pudding Pan Rock, four miles off the Kentish coast between Whitstable and Herne Bay. A number of perfect examples of this unlucky vessel's cargo, still bearing the marks of their seventeen hundred years' immersion, are preserved in the British Museum.

The earliest date for a bridge has already been discussed¹ but the question of the form which it took at this time remains to be considered. No foundations of a Roman bridge which have been recognised as such have yet been found, and in default of such evidence, it may be assumed that the Roman Government did not care to go to the great expense of a stone structure, but was content with a *pons sublicius*, no doubt of very solid timber construction and not improbably having in its centre a drawbridge to allow the passage of vessels. It is just possible that the need for this opening was the reason for maintaining the original type of bridge. The same practice appears to have been followed in Gaul, for at places where one would have expected to find indications of stone bridges none have been discovered. It is questionable whether the economically-minded Romans ever felt disposed towards the construction of stone bridges over wide and deep rivers, where the expense incurred would be relatively enormous and the

¹ P. 47 *supra*.

advantages from the point of view of navigation doubtful. There is what might be regarded as a notable exception to this rule at Mérida (Augusta Emerita) in Spain, where a bridge of 81 granite arches and 858 yards in length crossed the Guadiana. The exception is only apparent, for this river is wide, shallow and not navigable.

Evidences of the existence of a bridge throughout the whole of the Roman period of Londinium were discovered when the bottom of the river was being dredged in connection with the deepening of the channel after the removal of the mediaeval London Bridge. Extending across the Thames on the line of the old structure at a considerable depth in the gravel and silt¹ were found "many thousands of Roman coins with abundance of Roman pottery . . . and, beneath some of the central piles, brass medallions of Aurelius, Faustina, and Commodus."² The coins ranged from Julius Caesar and consuls of his era to Honorius (A.D. 423), and those particularly abundant were of Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Tetricus, Claudius II. (Gothicus), Diocletian, Maximian, Carausius, Allectus, and the dynasty of Constantine. In addition to the coins, there were discovered on this same line numerous objects of art, mostly in bronze. They included the famous colossal head of Hadrian, statuettes of Apollo, Mercury, Jupiter, a hermaphrodite, a model of bows of a Roman galley, and also the remarkable bronze nut-crackers illustrated on page 89, and numerous other small objects including rings, spearheads and fibulae. Roach Smith noted that the coins were dredged up in definite sequences as if they had been deposited as votary offerings when rebuilding or repairs were carried out upon the bridge, as well as on the accessions of new Emperors. He considered that his hypothesis was confirmed by the

¹ C. Roach Smith, *Roman London*, pp. 20-21.

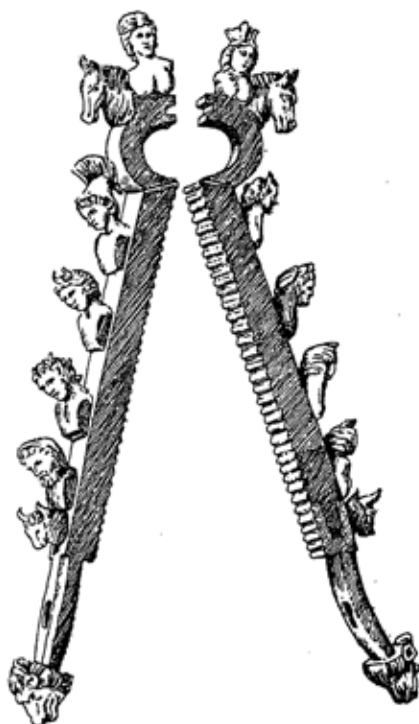
² *Ibid.*, *Archæologia*.

fact that very many of the coins were "as sharp as when issued from the mint." It is scarcely necessary to



BRONZE FIGURE OF APOLLO
FOUND IN THE THAMES
AT LONDON BRIDGE.

*Height about 4 inches.
(British Museum.)*



BRONZE (?) NUT-CRACKERS FOUND IN THE
THAMES NEAR THE LINE OF THE ROMAN
BRIDGE.

In spite of the appearance of this instrument, M. Cumont associates it with the worship of Mithras, but he is unable to suggest any purpose for these "forceps." The heads represent: on the left from the top [Attis], Mars, Diana (or Luna), Apollo (or Sol), and Saturn; on the right are: Cybele, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Ceres.

(British Museum.)

observe that with the Romans, as with practically all peoples down to the present day, the opening for use of a work of great public utility was marked by a

religious ceremony of dedication. On these occasions newly-minted money was thrown into the river in accordance with a usage which is as ancient as religion itself. The motive was the propitiation of the river deity.

This archæological evidence, collected by a most skilful, well-informed and cautious observer, seems to me to be decisive as to the existence and periodic repair of the bridge, maintained throughout the Roman period almost on the same line as that of its mediaeval successors.

It should be noted that at the five places in Britain where the Roman name indicates a bridge, *i.e.* Pontes, Durolipons, Tripontium, Ad Pontem, and Pons Aelii no indications of any such structure have been found. The only remains of Roman bridges yet discovered are the stone abutments of those which spanned the North Tyne near Chollerford and the Irthing at Willowford. In these instances the superstructures appear to have been of timber.

As those who seek for guidance on matters relating to Roman Britain are inclined to rely very considerably upon statements made by the late Dr Haverfield, it is here necessary to point out that he appears to have overlooked the above evidence for the Roman bridge at Londinium when he wrote¹ "no traces of a Roman bridge have yet been found." Had he stated that no absolutely identifiable *parts* of a Roman bridge had been discovered, his statement would have been accurate, but, as it stands, it is entirely misleading, for it ignores important evidence which no serious archæologist can possibly disregard. A comparison of the footnote with the text of the article above-cited seems, however, to indicate that it was not Haverfield's intention entirely to deny the existence of a bridge at Londinium. Throughout this period it would seem that the sides of

¹ *Jour. of Roman Studies*, vol. i. pp. 152-3, and footnote, p. 152.

the Wallbrook experienced much embanking and the erection of massive substructures for the erection of large buildings close to the river front. The very thick walls found beneath Cannon Street station were probably connected with these works. Possibly, judging from its position, it may have been a great quay and the principal scene of activity of the water front ; certainly the position is the very hub of Londinium at its time of greatest expansion.

That building activity on a large scale developed fairly soon after the reoccupation of A.D. 60 is tolerably certain, but it must not be imagined that the new structures were mainly, or even usually, of stone. In an age when transport was slow, expensive, and difficult, the building of a city depended very largely on local materials. At Aquae Sulis (Bath) and Corstopitum (Corbridge) stone is largely used for the construction of walls because of its abundance in the locality, but the neighbourhood of Londinium was lacking in anything of that nature, the nearest quarries being those not far from Merstham, some twenty miles to the south in the wooded uplands of the Wealden forest. The Kentish ragstone district (near Maidstone) was still farther off, although easily accessible by water. The staple material of construction of London has always been brick, and even at the present day, with the exception of the outer faces of great public buildings and the *fronts* of buildings in the most important streets, the capital is a brick-built city. When the surface stratum of the site was composed of brick earth, and brickyards could be improvised with the minimum of trouble, there can be no doubt at all that this material was the main source of supply for the new city which arose on the burnt-out site. In foundations and the more solid buildings which were immediately necessary concrete was employed, and for its composition the Thames could furnish an inexhaustible

supply of ballast. The other necessities of building, namely, lime and sand, were obtainable within a radius of half a dozen miles.

Londinium must, therefore, be always pictured as a city of brick buildings, with an occasional public building of stone and a certain amount of embellishment in the more stately material. It is just possible that, owing to its climate and the dearth of stone in the vicinity, the



A FOURTH-CENTURY HOUSE FRONT IN ROME.

It is built of brick and is probably typical of those built in Londinium at that time.

growing seaport possessed comparatively few pillared porticoes and courtyards.

In planning the essential features of the new city, one of the first considerations would have been the provision of a forum and the necessary public buildings. There is considerable archæological evidence for believing that the forum and basilica lay somewhere in the neighbourhood of Leadenhall Market. The basilica has been found to be one of very large dimensions, but whether this were the first built or a later reconstruction is not yet known. That a Capitoline temple arose within the area of the city during this period of growing prosperity is very probable but no temple sites have yet been identified. Very probably the pagan fanes were de-

molished for the purpose of building Christian churches in later ages. There is some reason for thinking that a Mithraeum stood near the Wallbrook and five or six other temples have been inferred. Public baths, an invariable adjunct to Roman cities, must have existed; after the Great Fire of London what appeared to be the remains of one of these came to light. Places of amusement have left no trace, but that they had their place in the city there is no doubt at all—to cite one piece of evidence, the memorial to a gladiator is sufficient to establish the prevalence in Londinium of the sanguinary displays which made a Roman holiday.

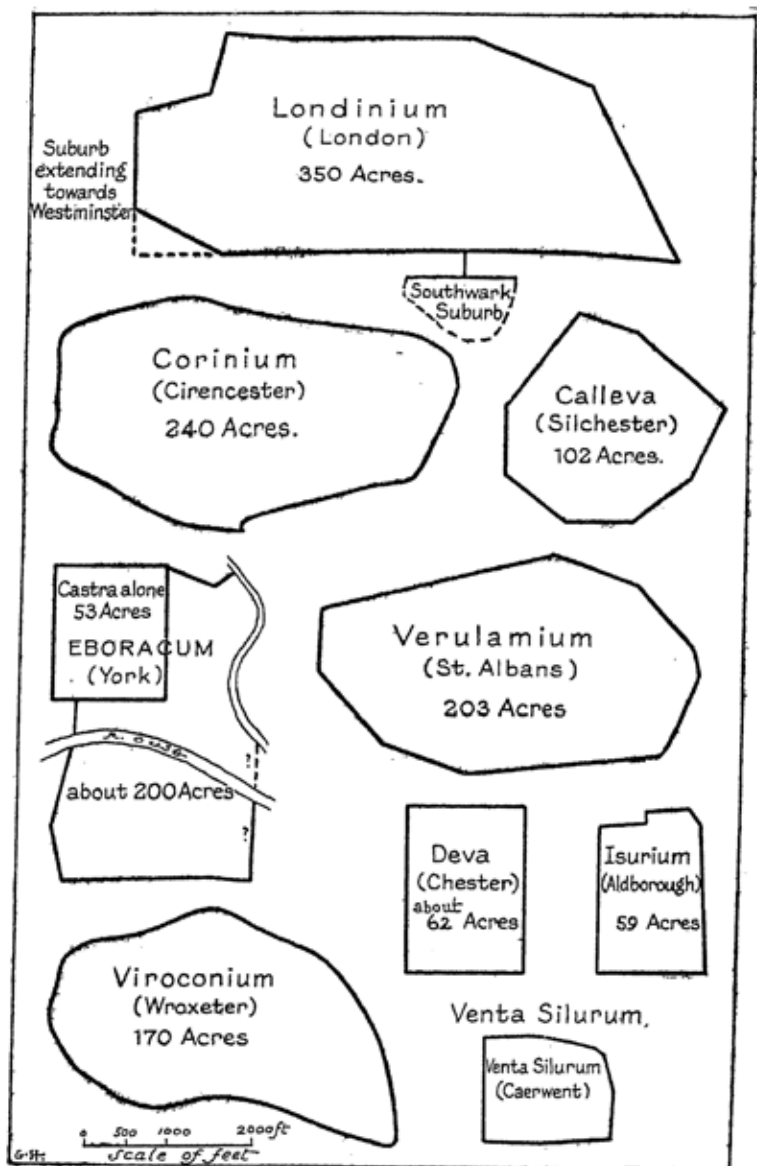
In casting a comprehensive glance over this period of uninterrupted growth it may be that at its end Londinium was nearing its maximum expansion, at any rate within the area afterwards walled. It should be remembered that there was, in addition, a considerable transriverine quarter at the southern end of the bridge, and certain evidence leads to the conclusion that to the west, at least along the banks of the Thames between the Fleet and the Tyburn brook, and even as far as Thorney Island, there were suburbs.

The space afterwards enclosed within the walls amounted to about 350 acres. The question of population depends very much on the density of occupation. To-day London has about 60 persons to the acre, but this proportion is greatly exceeded in the cases of Paris and Berlin, where the figures range to the neighbourhood of 150. A study of permanent Roman camps shows that the Romans considered that about 170 soldiers could live in health upon one acre of land. The relation of civil to military figures in this respect is not an easy calculation, but there is a considerable amount of evidence for stating that the streets of an average Roman town were rather narrow, and that the houses generally were of two storeys above the ground

floor. There were also fewer open spaces than in modern times. It therefore seems reasonable, on a strictly conservative calculation, to infer a density of not less than 150 human beings per acre; and this would give the area already mentioned a population of a little over 50,000. To this must be added the transriverine quarter and such suburbs as existed. Further, there should be included the considerable floating population due to the presence of visitors, ships' crews and perhaps small military details. On all these grounds, and assuming that the central area was not as yet built up to any exceptional height, the population of Londinium between about 200 and 280 may be reckoned at not less than the figure stated; it may have been more, but can scarcely have been less.

There is no doubt whatever of the pre-eminence of Londinium among the cities of Roman Britain. The nearest in walled area (in the fourth century) was Corinium (Cirencester), which covered about 240 acres, and as it seems unlikely that in such a spot, in an open agricultural plain, there would have been any tendency to crowd together, the total might therefore be reckoned at roughly 30,000. Eboracum, with its military camp, may at times have had a similar population; and Verulamium, with an area of just over 200 acres, possibly housed from 20,000 to 25,000. Certainly no other cities in Roman Britain equalled these, for Viroconium (Wroxeter) covered not more than 170 acres, and Camulodunum and Calleva (Silchester) only 108 and 102 respectively.

Much of a careless nature had been written concerning the relative importance and size of Londinium as compared with the great cities of the Empire. It is clear that even at its apogee it did not stand in the first rank. It could not compare with the group which included Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, Carthage, Medio-



THE RELATIVE SIZE OF LONDINIUM.
Comparative plans of the chief Roman cities of Britain.

lanum, Lugdunum, Smyrna, Ephesus, Cappadocian Caesarea, and Thessalonica. Its area is very much less than those of Athens and Syracuse, and other instances might be enumerated, but on the other hand it probably stood high among the cities of the second rank such as Massilia, Patavium, Augusta Treverorum, and Colonia Agrippinensis. It was certainly much larger than the last, the walled area of which was only about 250 acres, and was probably more populous than Augusta Treverorum, the capital of the Prefect of the Gauls in the fourth century, for the amphitheatre of the latter city has been calculated to have accommodated only about 8000 spectators.

The establishment and development of industries in Londinium and the immediate surroundings would have synchronised with the growth of the city. A steady and increasing demand for bricks and tiles would have resulted in a number of busy brickyards; the household consumption of earthenware would lead to potteries for the rougher articles—the better qualities were imported or later came in part from the Medway, the New Forest or Castor; timber for houses implies large carpenters' yards; tools and implements of all descriptions suggest small factories for their production, as evidenced by the plough-share and a variety of tools in the Guildhall Museum; a great demand for household furniture required joiners' shops; footwear and clothing implied factories on some scale, and the warming of houses by means of hypocausts necessitated much charcoal-burning. Mills for the grinding of corn would be needed by a large urban population, and market gardening in the outskirts of the city must soon have become an extensive and flourishing industry, even if private gardens were usual in the suburbs and on the fringe of the more compactly-built centre.

To what extent stone hand-mills for corn were

employed in the individual households is not known. Those found in London excavations show that both the small hand-mill and the large variety worked by asses or mules were in use.¹

Over and above the productions of British potteries an enormous quantity of red glazed ware, the type known as Samian or *terra-sigillata*, was imported. Almost every site produces quantities of fragments of this fine quality of earthenware.

Food supplies in large quantities had to be brought in daily to the markets of Londinium and, apart from oil and wine, it may be taken that at first nearly all requirements were produced within a short radius. With the growth of population an increasingly large area would doubtless have been tapped. Good roads having come into existence, and with the useful waterway of the Thames in addition, the question of the transport of supplies presented no difficulties whatever. An appreciable portion of the city's food supply was obtained from the unpolluted Thames itself. The upper reaches still swarm with coarse fish, including pike, perch, roach, dace, and barbel. Of the more delicate kind trout are abundant, and salmon did not disappear until after 1812, while Southwark plaice were a delicacy until as late as the seventeenth century.

Throughout the two centuries under review it is possible, if not probable, that the city was unwallled.² The need for such a defence did not then exist. It may be that something in the way of gateways stood on the roads at certain points of entry into the city area—bars as it were for administrative purposes, but this is a mere guess. The medallion struck by Constantius "Chlorus" to commemorate his relief of Londinium, referred to in the next chapter, certainly shows a towered gateway,

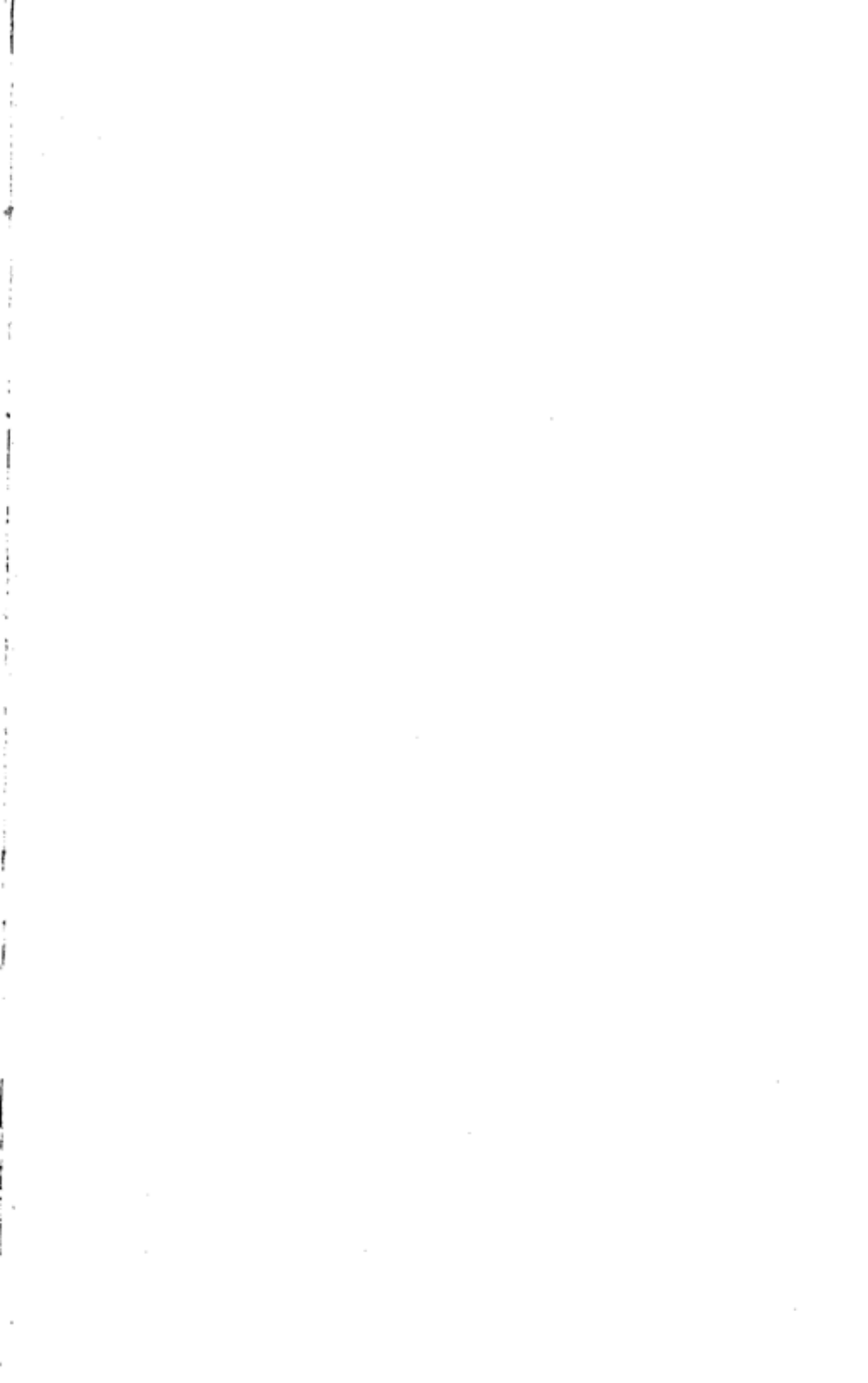
¹ C. Roach Smith, *Roman London*, p. 147.

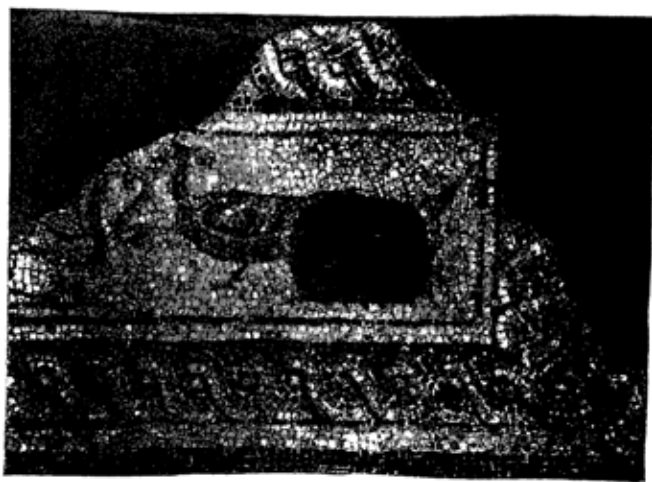
² For further references to this subject, see pp. 111, 112 and 119.

but how far this represented fact cannot be stated. To indicate a city in a decorative fashion in the smallest space requires such a symbol. I am inclined to the belief that when the wall was built it was put up in a hurry at a time of great danger, for the workmanship suggests speed, and the angles taken give the feeling of the need to enclose an area already fully built upon.

Londinium was in no sense a military station. It was the administrative centre and civil capital of the Province of Britain. If any military units were stationed in the city they would have been exceedingly small, and might merely have been details to form the guard at the Treasury and the residence or offices of the administrative headquarters. Monuments of soldiers belonging to the legions on the frontiers have been found in London, but this merely indicates that retired soldiers came to live or happened to die in the capital.

Of the nature of the buildings in which the civil population lived and carried on business one can make a shrewd guess. It would be unsafe, in endeavouring to envisage the type of buildings occupied, to think only of such plans of structures as those which have been conjecturally restored at the quiet little country town of Calleva (Silchester). A better standard of comparison is established by the brick-built continuous ranges of houses found at Rome, Ostia, Pompeii and other Italian towns. The resemblance of these to the plainer types of modern brick building of London is remarkable. The single arch of the ground floor shop has perpetuated itself to-day in Italy and in certain parts of France—notably Auvergne, which was the last fragment of Gaul to be conquered by the Visigoths. Buildings of this type must have been the rule all over the central part of Londinium. As to the public offices, if they were built upon anything of the same scale as that of the great basilica, they would have been





ROMAN TESSELLATED PAVEMENTS FOUND IN LONDON.

Above.—The Bacchus mosaic found in front of East India House in Lendenhall Street. It appears to have been in a building of consequence in the most important quarter of Londinium (*Guildhall Museum*). *Below.*—Part of a pavement showing a (?) peahen and another bird with a worm. Found in Fenchurch Street (*British Museum*).

imposing in architectural style. Considerable evidence exists for believing that their embellishment was not unworthy of the city's rank. In conjunction with the famous Bacchus mosaic pavement found on the site of East India House were several pieces of green porphyry (or *verde antique*), pointing to handsome decorative effects in marble. Professor Lethaby¹ thinks that this building, close to the forum and the basilica, may have been the Governor's palace or as it would be called to-day Government House.

As the most important official residence in Londinium, it would have received those emperors who came to Britain. That the capital was honoured when imperial visits took place may be regarded as inevitable for, owing to its position at the great road centre of the province, Londinium could not be avoided, quite apart from its political importance, which would have made it the natural objective in any case.

When, therefore, in 120, Hadrian hurried to Britain after the disaster to Legio IX it may be taken as certain that he came to Londinium in connection with that administrative reorganisation to which Spartianus makes brief allusion.²

About ninety years later Severus I., with his two disreputable sons, arrived in Britain and undoubtedly passed through Londinium on his way to Eboracum. At that fixed camp of the Sixth legion—the chief military headquarters of the north—he laid his plans for those wearisome Caledonian campaigns which filled the closing years of his life.³ It is clearly stated that while Severus took Antoninus "Caracallus" with him to the front beyond Hadrian's wall, Geta was left behind as viceroy of the province, and it cannot be doubted that his residence was generally at Londinium.

¹ *Londinium*, p. 175.

² Spartianus, *Vita Hadriani*, chap. xi. p. 2.

³ See my *Roman York*, chap. iii.

It has been suggested by various writers, including the younger Arnold¹ and others who apparently followed him,² that Eboracum was the capital of Britain. In support of such a theory there is no evidence whatever; on the contrary every indication, archæological and historical, emphasises the overwhelming supremacy of Londinium. The fact that two Roman Emperors died at Eboracum is merely incidental. Both Severus and Constantius I. were engaged in military operations of which the camp of Legio VI was the natural base. It is quite true that Spartianus writes of a *domus palatina* at Eboracum, but seeing that Severus had had his headquarters there for two years it may be taken that some special group of buildings had been put up to accommodate the large staff which accompanied him. Nothing more is implied; the residence of the Emperor, even if it were only a tent, was the *domus palatina* for the time being.

After the death of Severus on the 4th of February 211, Londinium unquestionably saw his two sons, now joint emperors, as they journeyed back to Rome, where Geta was shortly to perish at the hands of assassins ordered by "Caracallus." With the two brother emperors was Papinianus, the famous jurist, then *Praefectus Praetorio*, who was to fall a victim with Geta to the savagery of "Caracallus" after having vainly attempted to keep the peace between them.

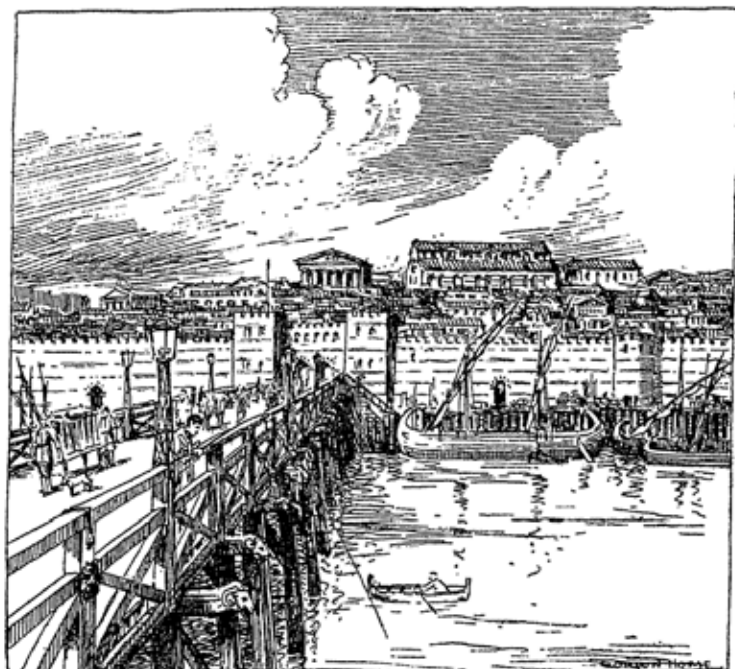
Thus, although historians are silent concerning this period of Londinium's existence, archæology enables the inductive faculty to build up a picture of the city within the limitations which have been indicated.

The visitor, arriving from Rutupiae by the historic highway through the country of the Cantii (now called

¹ W. T. Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, p. 151.

² See for example p. 37 in booklet on Roman Britain, in the World's Manuals.

Watling Street), would enter a somewhat ill-defined quarter to-day represented by Southwark. He would find that the traffic converged upon a long wooden



CONJECTURAL APPEARANCE OF THE ENTRY TO ROMAN LONDON
ACROSS THE BRIDGE.

The large clerestoried building on the right is the suggested Basilica with one of the chief temples to the left.

bridge wide enough for an inward and an outward flow, and that from it he would obtain an arresting view of the closely-built central part of the city, its low-pitched red or creamy-red roofs showing over red stuccoed or stone walls with here and there uncovered red brick as a glowing contrast. Pillared porticoes would now and again break the monotony of the roof-

lines, but otherwise a somewhat featureless outline no doubt presented itself. If a temple of Jupiter occupied, as would be almost inevitable, an elevated site, its roof-line and imposing colonnade would be a conspicuous feature. Below the buildings, the stranger would note busy quays with a number of large as well as small lateen-rigged ships made fast against them. Coming closer to the north end of the bridge, the cosmopolitan complexion of the seamen and loungers would be easily noticeable. The traffic would break up into various narrow streets going out from the head of the bridge and the visitor would soon be involved in a stream of vehicles, litters, and foot passengers proceeding to or from the forum. Unless he were wary he might be jostled a good deal and even be lightened of his purse before finding himself in the teeming centre of the city's civic life. Such an accident would cause him to visit the office of the *Praefectus Vigilum*—the Roman equivalent to Scotland Yard.

How and when Christianity first made its appearance in Londinium is a matter of pure speculation, but there is no reason to regard it as impossible that there were professing Christians among the arrivals from the Continent not very long after the conquest of Britain in A.D. 43. Equally, none may have reached the island until many years later, and those in Londinium may have been so few throughout the first century after Christ that they would have been compelled to practise their faith in private. The progress of Christianity north-westward was undoubtedly slow. It was only in the partly Greek towns of the Rhône Valley that any large numbers of adherents were found as late as the second century. There is, however, the evidence of Tertullian and Origen, who wrote in the early part of the third century, that there was an appreciable Christian element in remote Britain. The legend of the "British"

King Lucius and Pope Eleutherius (*circa* 180) is, however, without foundation as regards this country. Lucius was Prince of Edessa and the supposed Britannia is a misreading of *birtha*,¹ the citadel of his town.

The martyrologies supply a certain amount of information as to the progress of Christianity in the third century, but the earliest of these (called after the name of St Jerome) was probably not compiled until the sixth century. It contains two names concerning Britain, those of Augulus—an otherwise unknown bishop of Londinium—and Albanus, who is said to have suffered martyrdom in about 303. For what this late compilation is worth, it affords evidence of a bishop of Londinium as early as possibly 250. Gildas also has some shadowy names of martyrs, but none of them are connected with the capital.

¹ *Liber Pontificalis*.



A SCULPTURED STONE SHOWING (?) NYMPHS.

From the site of Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate.

(Guildhall Museum.)

CHAPTER V

THE APOGEE OF LONDINIUM A.D. 285-360

DURING the middle period of the third century the Roman Empire was suffering from that accumulation of evils which was destined to weaken it beyond the limits of recovery. The decline had begun, and the titanic empire whose great reserves of strength had been so terribly depleted was unable to recover its former prosperity. Perpetual invasions and frequently recurring civil war, with the added misery of protracted periods of plague and famine, were the lot of nearly all the provinces from the English Channel to the Euphrates. Alone among them Britain seems to have escaped all but the slightest injury from these malefic influences.

Despite the fact that the literary evidence is very scanty, there is considerable archæological testimony to prove that the country was at peace. The overseas trade of Londinium and other ports must have been affected on account of the state of economic wreck which supervened in Gaul, consequent upon the invasions of the Alemanni from Germany in the latter half of the century. On the other hand, there is considerable reason to believe that the volume of exports actually increased, on account of the augmented demand for foodstuffs and other necessities which the Gallic provinces could no longer produce for themselves. Writing in 296, Eumenius¹ the Gallic panegyrist of Constantius "Chlorus," refers in glowing terms to the remarkable wealth and prosperity of Britain, a country notable for its vast wealth in corn and cattle, its numerous and productive mines yielding a huge revenue, and also for the busy harbours with which it was girdled. Later

¹ Eumenius, *Panegyric*, V.

authorities¹ down to Zosimus speak of the great exports of corn from Britain to impoverished Gaul, which continued to at least 360 and probably later. As an inevitable result of this large external demand, the price of corn would have risen steadily. Yet another evidence of the abounding prosperity of the country is provided by Eumenius, who says that the ruined Augustodunum (Autun) was rebuilt by means of skilled craftsmen sent from Britain "in whom those provinces abound."² It is, therefore, possible that the Roman gateway still standing at Autun is the work of British masons. Londinium, as the great emporium of the island, must have profited enormously through the needs of its neighbours.

In the last quarter of the third century, however, the faint mutterings of the storm gathering in North-west Germany were beginning to be heard, a tempest which in the end was to bring catastrophic destruction upon the flourishing Roman dominion. On account of causes still quite obscure the tribes at the mouths of the Ems, Weser, and Elbe, generically called Saxons, but accompanied at this time by Franks and (probably) Frisians, began to indulge in piracy on the sea, and thus Britain, immune during the earlier stage of their activities in Gaul and elsewhere, began to suffer loss and inconvenience. An effort seems to have been made to check their activities by the debauched and short-reigned Emperor Carinus who, for some reason, assumed the additional title of "Britannicus Maximus." As there is no trace of Pictish trouble at this time, it seems probable that the cognomen was adopted after a victory gained by the British fleet either in the Channel or

¹ Emperor Julianus, IV., *A Letter of the Athenians*; and Ammianus Marcellinus, Book XVIII. chap. ii. sec. 3; Zosimus, III. 5.

² Eumenius, *Paneg. Const. Caes.*, 18, "Quibus illae provinciae redundabant."

the North Sea. But it was not until Carinus had been replaced by the great Diocletian that a definite policy was adopted to ward off the piratical attacks.



SKETCH MAP OF THE OUTER DEFENCES
OF LONDINIUM.

In 285 Diocletian's adopted colleague Maximianus, organised a fleet in the Channel, probably at Gessoriacum (Boulogne) and placed in command an experienced naval officer, a Gallo-Roman of the tribe of the Menapii, named Maus(onius) Carausius. It is not quite certain whether he was officially styled *Comes Littoris Saxonici per Britannias*, but in any case his duties were those later carried out by that important member of the Imperial General Staff. He gained very marked successes over the Saxons and Franks, but it was presently whispered that he was abusing his opportunities by embezzling the vast quantities of plunder which he recovered. The western emperor, Maximianus, thereupon determined to supersede him but, foreseeing this eventuality, Carausius mutinied with his whole fleet, proclaimed himself Augustus and landed in Britain, where he soon won over the entire province and its formidable army. His naval power enabled him to repulse the attacks made on him by Maximianus who, in 289, was forced to acknowledge him as independent Emperor of Britain and also of the Gallic district around Gessoriacum.

As soon as he had thoroughly secured his power in the

island, Carausius signalised his imperatorship by establishing a mint at Londinium. Unless Clodius Albinus had struck coins in Londinium when he became junior Emperor in 193, the capital for the first time since its Romanisation now began the issue of coined money.¹

In spite of the temporary break of political relations with Gaul, the trade of Londinium may have continued with comparatively little interference; in fact, seeing that Carausius soon made peace with the Franks, a small zone of business enterprise may have been opened, and undoubtedly after 289, when Maximianus had reduced Gaul to a certain amount of order, there may have been a temporary wave or boom of prosperity. In any case Carausius maintained his great fleet and a large army, including thousands of German mercenaries, without, so far as appears, any undue strain upon the resources of Britain. The real test of its prosperity is afforded by the fact that, while the money of all the rest of the Roman Empire was in a hopeless condition of depreciation and disorder, Carausius was issuing an abundant coinage at Londinium in pure gold and silver.² Sir Charles Oman thinks that the variety of honorific designs and eulogistic inscriptions on the Carausian coinage testifies to a real feeling of gratitude for his enlightened care of the country. Having established his power he, like the rival emperors whom he now designated his brothers, naturally assumed a pompous title. His full imperial name was Marcus Aurelius Valerius Carausius with, in some cases, his indefinite Gallic name Maus . . . beyond. Amongst

¹ The evidence as to mints of Carausius at Camulodunum and Rutupiae rest only on the letters "C" and "R," and the latter might equally well represent Rotomagus (Rouen). See Mr Percy Webb's articles on the "Coins of Carausius," in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1907/8.

² Mr H. Mattingly, in *J. R. S.*, xi., pt. 2, states definitely that the Carausian coinage was the first certainly issued in Britain.

the laudatory inscriptions on his coins are found: *VERITAS AVGV*="wealth (or wealth-productiveness) of the Emperor"; *FELICITAS TEMPORVM*="Happiness of the Times"; *RESTITVTOR SAECVLI*="Restorer of the Age"; and yet another motto which may have been selected by himself is *RENOVATIO ROMANORVM*="Revival of the Romans," which appears with a representation of the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus.

The four years of peace which followed the recognition of Carausius as local Emperor, ended in 292, when war was declared upon their intrusive colleague by Diocletian and Maximian, who were anxious to regain control of the most flourishing province of the Empire.

The command was entrusted to Flavius Constantius "Chlorus," Caesar or sub-emperor of the West. All which he could do at the moment was to capture Gessoriacum, for in face of the formidable fleet which the British Emperor had created, no attempt could be made to cross the Channel. It seems, however, that with the failure to retain his last continental foothold, Carausius lost prestige among his officers, for in the next year he was assassinated by a certain Allectus, whom Eumenius calls *Satelles* (=underling) and was therefore probably one of the usurper's generals or admirals.

Allectus seems to have had little of the ability of his predecessor, and in any case his throne would appear to have been insecure from the first, probably on account of a certain loyalty to Carausius's memory among the regular legionaries. Eumenius states that in the last struggle Allectus could only rely on his Germanic mercenaries; in any case he remained inactive for some three years, during which time Constantius built an overwhelming fleet in the harbours of Gaul.

The crisis came in 296. The fleet of Allectus was lying in the Solent awaiting the expected attack. One

division of the opposing naval forces, commanded by Asclepiodotus, the *Praefectus Praetorio*, sailed directly to the attack, possibly from Rotomagus, (Rouen) while Constantius, with the other division, put to sea from Gessoriacum apparently intending to operate on the Kentish coast. The Caesar's division, missing its course in a thick fog, wandered round the North Foreland and sailed up the Thames to Londinium.

Asclepiodotus, on reaching the coast of Britain, burnt or disabled all his ships and marched upon Londinium with every man available for the fighting line. The "tyrant" also abandoned his fleet and hastened to bar the march of the Praetorian Prefect upon his capital. He had with him the *veteres illius conjurationis auctores* (=the ancient promoters of that conspiracy), in other words the veteran marines who had established the power of Carausius together with the hated barbarian Germans. Somewhere near Woolmer Forest in Hampshire he was overtaken by Asclepiodotus and his army routed before he was able to form a proper line of battle. The reason for thinking that the battle took place near this forest is based on the discovery of an immense hoard of bronze coins of Carausius and Allectus which was unearthed there some years ago. It is probable that this was a regimental pay-chest which was buried in the emergency of the moment. Allectus was killed in the rout, and a great slaughter was made of the marines and Franks; but hardly a single Roman citizen is said to have fallen, owing to the fact that the usurper had not dared to bring his regular troops to the front.

The disorganised mob of fugitives fled to Londinium and, bursting into the apparently unfortified city, were proceeding to indulge in indiscriminate sack and massacre when, in the very nick of time, Constantius arrived and his fleet dropped anchor in the Thames.

Troops were promptly put ashore and Londinium was soon rescued from the mercenaries, who were slaughtered in the narrow streets of the city.¹

Making every allowance for exaggeration on the part of the panegyrist there can be no doubt whatever that the citizens of the capital felt unfeigned gratitude at the almost providential succour which Constantius had brought at a critical moment, for although the army of Asclepiodotus was no doubt pressing on by forced marches, the mob of semi-savage mercenaries could have wrought immense havoc in a very few hours. Further confirmation of this episode in the history of Londinium is afforded by the gold medallion struck at Trier to commemorate the triumph of Constantius as "Caesar Invictus." This fine example of the numismatic art of the time shows on the reverse a representation of the Emperor, on horseback and carrying a spear, while the city is indicated by a female figure kneeling before him in front of a turreted gateway under which appears the abbreviation *LON.* Below is a galley with a single bank of oars representing the arrival of the fleet in the Thames. The inscription, reading, "*Redditor lucis aeternae*," implies the idea of the re-entry of Britain into the eternal daylight of the World Empire. Another most interesting object, probably associated with this event, is the barge or galley found embedded in the Thames mud when the foundations of the County Hall were being excavated in 1910. With it were found coins of Carausius and various other objects, including horse-shoes, and it seems quite possible that it was a unit of the fleet of Allectus sunk by those of the rescuing flotilla. There is in addition to this barge the representation in bronze of the prow of a Roman vessel bearing the inscription *AMMILLA AVG FELIX*. It was in the Roach Smith collection and

¹ Eumenius, *Paneg. Const. Caes.*, chap. xvii.



1. A lion crouching over prey found in the Camomile Street bastion (*Guildhall Museum*).
 2. The portion of the Cripplegate bastion visible above ground. Below the present ground level is the Roman portion of this bastion. 3. Gold medallion found at Beaurains, near Arras, commemorating the relief of Londinium by Constantius "Chlorus" in 306. The City is represented by a towered gateway, in front of which kneels a woman. 4. Prow of a Roman warship in bronze (*British Museum*). 5. Remains of a Roman galley found in the Thames mud on the site of the County Hall (*London Museum*).

is included by him among other objects dredged from the bed of the Thames near London Bridge.

The lettering is late and on the whole it is fairly safe to ascribe this very interesting object to the end of the third or to the fourth century, and the fact that the lettering is picked out in niello, on the whole, supports a late date. It is very difficult to avoid the conclusion that the object commemorates a famous ship, and the palm branch shown on the starboard side indicates a victory. This may well have been the success gained by Constantius which is the most impressive naval episode connected with the capital which history has recorded. At the same time the object may have some connection with Carausius or Allectus, or with Constans I. whose famous naval exploits in 343 are mentioned later.

In connection with this interesting and important campaign it becomes necessary to approach the question of the period when Londinium first sheltered itself within a defensive wall. There is at present no epigraphic or historical evidence on the matter and one is therefore compelled to consider the question from the point of view of probability.

It may be taken that before the days of Carausius and the overseas menace, the need for such fortification did not exist; it was not, as has already been mentioned, until the period between 255 and 280 that the destructive and far-reaching ravages of the barbarians caused most of the cities in the interior of the Empire to surround themselves with walls; and there is not the slightest reason to think that Londinium was an exception. During the period 280 to 296 Britain was threatened first by the Teutonic pirates and afterwards by the hostility of Diocletian and his colleagues, and it may have seemed expedient to Carausius or Allectus to protect the capital and the other chief cities. At

the same time it possibly appeared to such an experienced admiral as Carausius as a totally unnecessary precaution in view of his unchallenged sea power. Further, it is notable that Eumenius, who is verbose on the subject of the activities of "that pirate of Rutupiae" (Carausius) has not a word to say of extensive fortifications. If, beside the dangers of the sea and the opposition of a great fleet, Constantius had also to anticipate the siege of many fortified positions, one rather imagines that Eumenius would have poured forth some turgid oratory upon the last-mentioned subject. But he is silent. Finally, the entry of the mercenaries, apparently without difficulty, may seem to indicate that Londinium was still an open city. On the other hand it might well have been that had there been walls, the gates would have been flung open by the garrison which might, in part at least, have consisted of others of the hired supporters of Allectus. The behaviour of the Franks having been of such a savage nature, the civil population would no doubt have contrived to let in the relieving force of Constantius with small difficulty. On the whole, the evidence is inconclusive, but perhaps the strongest indirect argument against the existence of walls is found in the impression given by Eumenius of the disaffection of the province with the rule of Allectus. Had Londinium been walled, he might well have feared that it could become a centre of revolt.

The chief monument to the Carausian interlude is the prolific coinage, of which the bulk was struck at the Londinium mint. Not only are there the purely provincial types, to which reference has been made, but in addition there is what may be called a fraternal imperial coin in which the head of Carausius appears side by side with those of his late rivals. Over and above this, Carausius struck large issues of coins bearing the names and emblems of legions, both those in Britain

and on the Continent, the reason in the latter case being that he was endeavouring to win them over to his side by donations and flattery.

The authority of the Roman Empire being re-established in Britain by the victory of Constantius, Londinium was once more without restrictions or embarrassment in its relations with the Continent, and trade handicaps would doubtless have been removed, although the very heavy taxation imposed by Diocletian may have tended to produce a depressing influence on commerce. High taxation, as is well known, inevitably produces an increase in the cost of commodities, and Diocletian, an emperor of the successful "working-class" type, had the proletarian's ignorant belief that economic evils can be cured by legislation. Thus, in 301, he issued his Edict of Prices, in the confident expectation that thereby the distress resulting from bad harvests and enormous expenditure on perennial warfare would be relieved, and the cost of living reduced from its abnormal figures. From the causes mentioned the price of necessities had soared 800 per cent. Accordingly Diocletian drew up a long list of maximum prices for food, clothing and rates of salaries and wages. Anyone exceeding the figures laid down was liable to capital punishment or, in the case of slight infraction, to deportation. It was ordered that the list of fixed prices should be exhibited in all markets and public places throughout the Empire, and Londinium, being a very important centre of trade, would no doubt have learnt the details as soon as the Edict was enforced. In the East, where Diocletian ruled directly from Nicomedia in Asia Minor, there was a determined attempt to enforce the provisions of this new legislation, for Lactantius has much to say of the Emperor's sanguinary measures to that end. Whether this state of things applied to Londinium may be questioned, for there is reason

to believe that Constantius, a humane and tactful man, used much latitude in interpreting the letter of laws with which he did not altogether agree. It is also possible that the distress which the Edict was intended to combat was not nearly so severe in relatively prosperous Britain; but that Diocletian intended the enactment to apply to the West as well as the East seems clear from the reference to British cloaks, which were the most highly-priced outer garments in the list with the exception of the Gallic mantle. Some of the grain prices must have been intended to apply to Britain, then so active in exporting cereals, and there is thus the distinct possibility that some grasping corn-factor of Londinium may have been among the victims of the Edict mentioned by the virulent Lactantius.¹ The Edict failed utterly in its purpose and was a dead letter after a brief period.

By the order of Diocletian, Constantius carried out an elaborate administrative reorganisation of the country, dividing it into four provinces,² of which, unfortunately, only one can be even approximately placed. This is Britannia Prima, in which it is known, through an extant inscription, that Corinium (Cirencester) was placed. It is a notable fact, however, that the area called Maxima Caesariensis seems to have been considered as having a certain pre-eminence, as it was governed by a *consularis*, while the other three were administered by *praesides*, or, as they sometimes called themselves, *rectores*.

In control of these four local governors was the civil governor-general, who bore the title *Vicarius*. His official residence can have been nowhere else than in Londinium, where were the Mint and the Imperial Treasury down to the last days of the Western Empire in the fifth century.

¹ Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, chap. vii.

² They were: Maxima Caesariensis, Flavia Caesariensis, Britannia Prima and Britannia Secunda.



CLAUDIUS I.
In Britain A.D. 43.



VESPASIANUS.
In Britain A.D. 43.



HADRIANUS.
In Britain A.D. 120/1.



SEVERUS I.
In Britain 208-211.



ANTONINUS V.
"CARACALLUS."
In Britain 208-211.



CARAUSIUS.
Resident in Britain.



ALLECTUS.
Resident in Britain.



CONSTANTINUS I.
"CHLORUS."
In Britain 296 and 305/6.



CONSTANTINUS I.
"THE GREAT."
In Britain often, 306-312.



CONSTANS I.
In Britain 343.



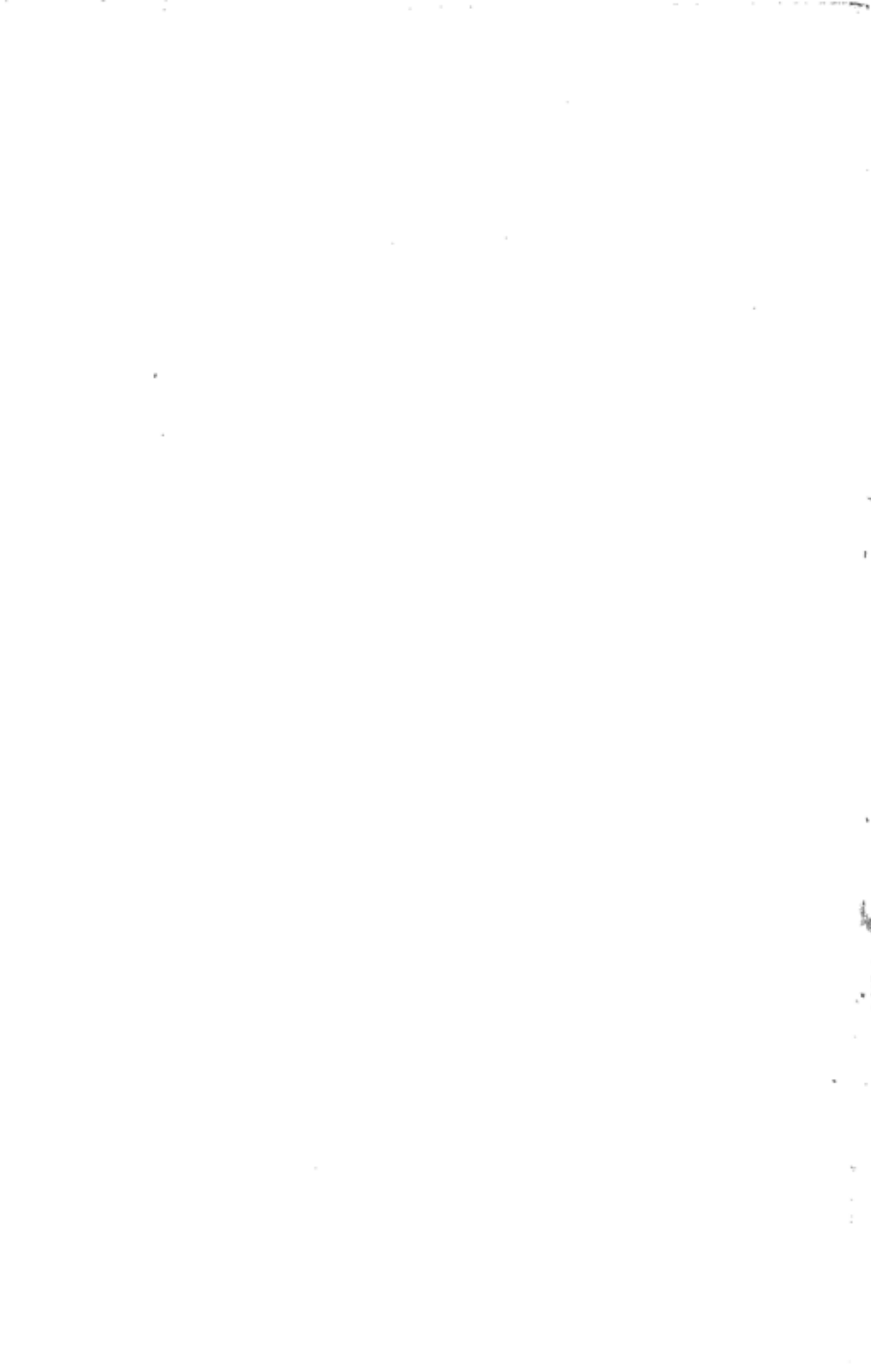
MAGNUS MAXIMUS.
In Britain 383.



CONSTANTINUS III.
In Britain 407.

ROMAN EMPERORS FROM THE CONQUEST IN A.D. 43

who are either known to have been in Londinium or whose presence in the capital on certain occasions may be accepted as beyond doubt. To these twelve Geta may be added, making a thirteenth.



In 305, after he had presided over the Praefecture of the Gauls for twelve years and over Britain for nine, Constantius "Chlorus," by the abdication of Diocletianus and Maximianus, became Augustus of the West. Shortly afterwards he came to Britain to deal with the emergency brought about by a sudden invasion of the Caledonians, from this time onwards commonly known as the Picts. On his way he was joined, probably at Gessoriacum¹ (Boulogne), by his son Constantine, who had escaped with some difficulty from the jealous control of Galerius, the new Augustus of the East. Constantius defeated the Picts but, while he was preparing for a final campaign, died on 25th July 306 at Eboracum, where his son was immediately proclaimed Emperor. Having of necessity to make certain of his father's dominions in Gaul, he at once journeyed southwards and thus was again in Londinium where, as the new Emperor, it is inevitable that he would have been received with much pomp, and it is just possible that a second ceremony of acclamation took place in the capital.

Gaul being secured, Constantine returned to Britain to finish the Pictish war, a task which he successfully accomplished. In the years which followed up to 312, he may often have been in his island dominion, and it is not to be questioned that during this period he must often have resided in Londinium. There is no doubt that Britain claimed much of his attention; milestones of his reign are found widely spread throughout the country, showing care for the road system at this time.

The mint at Londinium was extremely active; the number of coins issued from it during the reign of Constantine was enormous. Villa-building also appears to have been very considerable, almost inevitably the direct result of a great increase of private wealth due to a trade "boom."

¹ Later called Bononia.

The development of Christianity in the country may have been stimulated by the favour bestowed upon it by Constantine, and it is at any rate certain that, in 314, the British Church was a body of sufficient importance to send three bishops to the Council of Arelate (Arles). One of these prelates was Restitutus of Londinium. Although the evidences of Christianity in the city are very slight indeed, it is reasonable to suppose

that, after 312, the date of Constantine's "conversion," the community provided itself with churches of some type.

Between 300 and 335, probably 326, the mint of Londinium was closed. The reason for this step seems to be found in the establishment of Constantinople as the capital of the Empire, and the removal of the necessity for a multiplicity of separate mints in Gaul and Britain. At



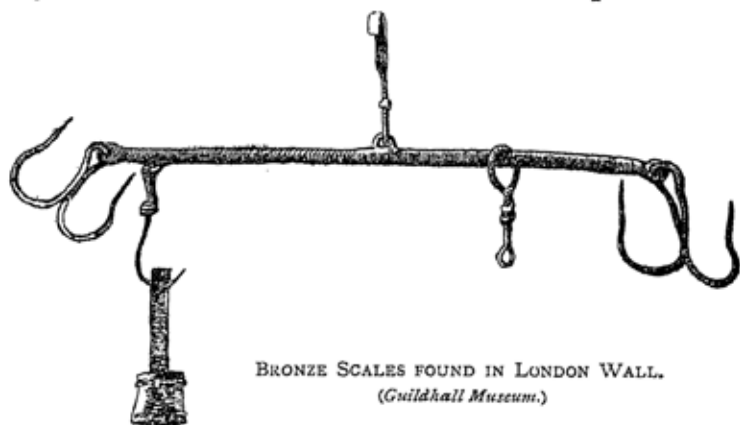
SILVER INGOT found near the Tower of London bearing the inscription EX OFFE HONORINI. [=Ex Officina Felicis Honorinus.]

From the works (or refinery) of Felix Honorinus.

this time there were no less than four in the two provinces—the result of the disturbed conditions of the third century and, now that a new era of peace seemed to have begun, Constantine closed the most distant. It need not for one moment be imagined that this closing of the mint, which had been established by military necessity, was any indication of a decline in the wealth of Londinium. The height of prosperity and importance which the city had attained by this time is very clearly indicated by the new and illustrious title of

Augusta¹ conferred upon it on some occasion between 330 and 367. It is quite likely that it was given by Constantine himself as a mark of his affection for the country in which his power had begun.

Fifty years of unbroken peace and uninterrupted commercial intercourse with the Continent, in which Britain played to a great extent the part of exporter, had no doubt carried the country and its capital to the highest level of affluence which it was to experience for



BRONZE SCALES FOUND IN LONDON WALL.
(Guildhall Museum.)

a great many centuries to come. How the balance of exchange worked, if it is to be understood that British needs were small in value compared with those of the volume of the country's exports, is a problem difficult of solution. The imports of wine, oil, fruit, marble, copper and other metals, together with silken goods and articles of luxury and ornament, may not have built up a balance without some other considerable item. Was this furnished by the import of slaves? Rough labour in Britain might have been cheapened by this means, and possibly the wealthy landowners were glad to purchase sturdy Teutonic workers in order to increase

¹ *Ammianus Marcellinus*, Book XXVII. chap. viii. 7; also coins.

the cultivated area of their estates. It should not be forgotten that there were still at this time very large areas of forest in Britain, also fens and marshes which by means of draining and damming could be made profitable. In any case the great market in Gaul for British corn could not have failed to result in a steady encroachment of the arable zones on the primeval forest lands.

The expansion of Londinium went hand in hand with all this rise in wealth, and its population must have grown in proportion. It has been calculated that by the middle of the third century the city contained about 50,000 persons, and the extent to which it had grown a hundred years later requires consideration.

There are some fairly reliable figures as to the population of London in the Middle Ages, when all the conditions militated against so high a level of population, prosperity and health as during the Roman period. In the year 1199 Peter de Blois, Archdeacon of London, stated to Pope Innocent III. that London contained 40,000 souls. Creighton¹ considered this estimate to be fairly correct, and came to the conclusion that during the next three centuries the population ranged from 40,000 to 50,000. In the year 1631, when a famine was apprehended, an actual enumeration showed that the number of persons "within the walls," that is to say to all intents and purposes the Roman walled area, was 71,029, and Southwark added 18,660, bringing the total to 89,689. This does not include any other suburbs or outlying quarters and, in addition, it is possible that owing to the special reasons for this census, the exclusion of temporary residents and paupers would give a total lower than the normal number.

If conditions in seventeenth century London may be

¹ "The Population of Old London," *Blackwood's Magazine*, April 1891.

regarded as at all parallel with those in the fourth, Londinium may not improbably have easily held, about the year 350, as many as 100,000 inhabitants if the "floating" elements—traders, visitors, and seamen, and also the suburbs, are included. In other words, Londinium Augusta occupied a prominent position among the cities of the Roman Empire, being excelled by perhaps not more than twenty places in East and West.

A vague tradition attributes the building of the Roman walls of Londinium to Constantine's mother Helena, but there is so little information as to when the legend originated, and the suggestion that such a vast enterprise could have been inspired by a woman of whose character nothing has come down to the present time save that she was in her late years a devout Christian, is manifestly preposterous. Probably the story grew up in the Middle Ages in connection with that which made her the daughter of a fabulous British king named Coel. If it be any earlier, it may perhaps be held to afford some fragile evidence that Constantine himself contemplated or commenced the fortification of Londinium. At the same time, it should be noted that during the eminently successful reign of that Emperor, when the frontiers were unusually secure, there was no obvious reason for incurring the great expense of constructing three miles of wall, gates and fosse in order to protect an unthreatened city. The protection of the capital might well have been considered amply provided for by the *Classis Britannica* and by the chain of coastal forts along what was called the Saxon Shore, extending from the Wash to the Solent, including in its centre the particularly adequate defences of Kent and the mouth of the Thames.

The cloud in the East across the grey waters of the North Sea was gathering, but at this time it can hardly have been perceptible; the first threat to the profound peace in Britain since 306 occurred in the far north,

perhaps beyond the Wall of Hadrian, where there is some reason to think that Constantine had established a form of protectorate.¹ The attack seems to have been made by the Picts in alliance with the Scots (*i.e.* North Irish). It was so sudden and violent that the danger called across the Channel in the depths of winter the last "legitimate" Emperor who is known to have visited Britain—Constans I., the third son of Constantine the Great. His success was rapid and complete, and was celebrated in high-flown language by the Christian Gallic writer Julius Firmicus Maternus.² Both in his journey from Bononia (Boulogne) to the seat of war and on his return Constans cannot have avoided passing through Londinium—to have lengthened the voyage in winter beyond Rutupiae would never have been contemplated by a Roman, especially a general whose object was to reach the danger zone with the utmost rapidity. That on reaching the north he engaged in some form of naval operations seems clear from the words of Firmicus, who writes of the waves of a sea hitherto almost unknown shuddering beneath the oars of the imperial galleys. It was therefore probably in 343 (the year is a little uncertain) that the people of Londinium came for the last time into the streets to witness the entry of a Roman Augustus.

Possibly it was from the son rather than the father, as already suggested, that the capital of Britain received its title of Augusta, and in that case it was Constans I. who made the unsuccessful effort to supplant the already ancient name of Londinium. It is also just possible that this danger aroused the Emperor to take the precaution of ordering the construction of fortifications, but again there is no evidence for this, and

¹ Sir C. Oman, *England before the Norman Conquest*, p. 153 and note; also Edward Foord, *Last Age of Roman Britain*, pp. 56-58.

² *De Errore Profanarum Religionum*, I. 125.

certainly the remoteness of the danger hardly gives support to the idea.

So far as is known, the victory just mentioned secured external peace for another seventeen years; there was, however, a certain amount of internal disturbance some ten years after the meteoric campaign of Constans. In 350 that energetic ruler was slain by his British general Magnentius. It should be mentioned that at this time there were four grades in the high command of the Roman army. They were: (1) *Magister Militum* = Field-Marshal—either of Infantry (*Magister Peditum*) or Cavalry (*Magister Equitum*); (2) *Comes* = General; (3) *Dux* = Lieut.-General; and (4) *Praefectus Legionis*, roughly equivalent to Major-General commanding a division.¹ Magnentius at the time of his revolt was in charge of a detachment comprising two legions of unknown strength. He created his brother Decentius his Caesar or co-Emperor, and his rule seems to have been accepted by Britain without demur. These two Romano-Britons had a very stormy reign of three years in the West, being almost continually engaged in warfare with Constantius II., Emperor of the East—the last surviving son of Constantine the Great. After a decisive defeat in 353, Magnentius committed suicide and his brother was killed in Gaul.

Having re-established his authority in the West, Constantius, with the object of punishing the connections and supporters of the usurper, who were naturally very numerous, sent across to Britain Paulus the *Notarius*, a Spanish Secretary of State whose evil reputation for savage inquisitorial methods had earned for him the unpleasant nickname of "*Catena*" (*i.e.* chain). He seems to have foreshadowed, with his peculiar gift for extracting evidence by torture, his

¹ The modern division reaching from 14,000 and upwards, it might be more accurate from the present-day standpoint to use the term brigade.

successors of the Spanish Inquisition some twelve centuries later. The centre of his activities was evidently Londinium, for Ammianus Marcellinus records that his methods quickly brought him into conflict with Martinus, the Vicarius or Governor-General—a man of totally different character in every respect. Such a clash of character and authority could only result before long in open hostility. Martinus, concerned with defending the British citizens involved in the inquiry, many of whom he considered to be innocent of the accusations brought against them, exerted himself more and more strenuously, until Paulus, finding himself thwarted and hampered, allowed his anger to show beneath the imperturbable countenance which he usually maintained. Finally he threatened to arrest Martinus and his whole staff and take them prisoners to the Emperor's Court. The Governor-General, seeing at once that his life was endangered by this threat, drew his sword and struck at the insolent instrument of tyranny. Unluckily for Martinus he did not drive his blow with sufficient force, only succeeding in wounding Paulus, and rendered desperate by the situation which confronted him, he plunged his weapon into his own side, giving himself a mortal wound.

The Secretary recovered from his wound and, relieved of opposition by this tragic event, completed his unsavoury task, upon which he returned to the Emperor taking with him in chains a number of prisoners condemned to torture and death. That these included persons of wealth and position may be inferred from Marcellinus's reference to the confiscation of their property.

The fact that the official residence of the Vicarius must have been the capital, since the treasury was unquestionably there, makes it most probable that the events just described took place in Londinium: it is indeed impossible to imagine that they can have

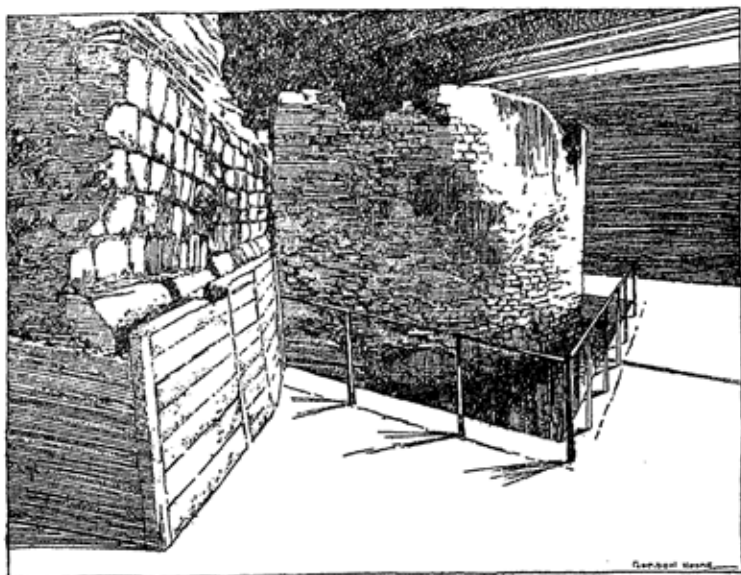


1. Handled knives with loops for suspension. 2. An earthenware saucepan with socket for a wooden handle—G.P.O. site. 3. Portion of a Samian vessel consisting of several pieces carefully repaired in Roman times.

(Guildhall Museum.)

occurred elsewhere. The scene may have actually been enacted in the Basilica or the Governor's Palace.

Apart from this inquisition, which may have only affected a small number of the wealthy and more influential classes, Londinium continued to thrive, and this chapter closes with the city prosperous, busy and probably still expanding. It brings the story of Roman London to about the year 360, when the storm which was brewing on the coasts of northern Germania, and in the wildernesses of Hibernia and Caledonia, began at last to make itself felt with ever-increasing severity.



THE BASTION OF THE WALL NORTH OF NEWGATE.

The wall had sagged outwards: this shows in the drawing above the modern concrete on the left.

This bastion is preserved under the Post Office yard in Giltspur Street.

CHAPTER VI

THE PERIOD OF DANGER AND DECLINE, A.D. 360-429

THE last chapter ended with a hint of dangers brewing in more than one quarter, and the commerce of Londinium may at this time have begun to feel the first effects of the invasions of the Alemanni and Franks in Northern Gaul. By 360, the energy of Julian, the Caesar of the West, had much improved the situation in Gaul, but, while passing the winter in Parisii (Paris), he received information that the Picts and Scots had violated the truce forced upon them by the victory of Constans, and were ravaging the country near Hadrian's Wall. The first reports were disturbing enough for Julian to think of proceeding himself to Britain, but being unable to leave Gaul on account of the threatening situation there, he sent over in his place his *Magister Equitum Praesentalis*—the Master of the Horse, one Lupicinus. Of this highly-placed officer Marcellinus mentions that he was a man of talent in war and especially skilled in administration, but so haughty that he "always smelt of the tragic buskin," while at the same time he was notoriously avaricious and cruel.

Lupicinus landed at Rutupiae in the depths of winter and marched straight to Londinium,¹ where he established his headquarters and remained there while studying the situation. He brought with him two Moesiatic *numeri* (battalions) and some units of Batavi and Heruli. Before, however, he had commenced active operations he was recalled, his presence being required on the Persian frontier. He took with him the Batavi and Heruli, but doubtless the Moesiatic soldiers were sufficient to reinforce the danger point in the north, for the outbreak seems to have collapsed, and an interval

¹ *Ammianus Marcellinus*, Bk. XX. chap. i.

of four years elapsed before any further hostilities in Britain were recorded.

The visit of the senior Field-Marshal of the western Empire to Londinium in 360 brought to the capital for the first time for many years the pomp and circumstance of war. With the haughty Lupicinus there would have been a brilliant staff representing nearly every race in the Empire, while the troops themselves, largely composed of Teutonic mercenaries, must have been objects of much curiosity and interest to the citizens, and doubtless the various houses of entertainment, and especially the wine shops and taverns, were exceedingly busy during the cold winter evenings, when the hard-drinking Teutons were making merry during the period of waiting for orders to march.

What impression these uncouth defenders of the Empire made upon the people of the city may be gathered from the interesting description given by Tacitus,¹ in connection with his account of the entry into Rome of the soldiers of Vitellius three centuries earlier. He writes of them as being unused to crowded streets, and mentions the rough way in which they conducted themselves among the populace, pushing the foot passengers with some violence when they found them in the way, and sometimes slipping down on the pavements through the pressure of the throng, accidents which they resented with abusive language and even sword blows. While it is not necessary to imagine that any extreme behaviour took place in Londinium when the Batavi and Heruli entered its streets, yet the picture given above of the behaviour of a rough soldiery in the crowded thoroughfares of a city is highly illuminating.

Londinium having resumed its normal existence with the departure of the troops, four years passed—then it was that the storm burst in all its fury. Julian had

¹ *Tacitus Historia*, Book II. lxxxviii.

fallen in Mesopotamia, and the Roman Emperors were now Valentinian I., whose father had commanded in Britain, and his brother Valens. They assumed the purple in a whirlwind of trouble. Marcellinus, in a sentence which breathes real vigour and emotion, writes of the trumpet giving the signal for war throughout the Roman world.¹ All the frontiers of the Empire from Britain to the Euphrates and along the desert frontiers of the African provinces were simultaneously assailed. Britain was attacked by all her enemies at once, Picts, Scots, Attacotti and Saxons making incessant raids. Effective help from the Continent could hardly be expected at first, for Valentinian had to face invasions along the whole of the northern limits of the Empire. For three years, therefore, the forces in Britain were obliged to meet the general onslaught unaided, and, to make matters worse, there was divided command.

The almost inevitable collapse came in 367, when two simultaneous disasters occurred, leaving the defences temporally wrecked. The *Dux Britanniarum* named Fullofaudes, who commanded in the north, was defeated and apparently captured, and, at the same time, the *Comes Littoris Saxonici* named Nectaridus was killed. This latter disaster brought the danger to the very gates of Londinium, and in no long space of time the whole country in its neighbourhood was being subjected to the horrors of invasion at the hands of barbarians, while the great city itself was soon in a state of blockade—"submerged in difficulties,"² as the soldier-historian records.

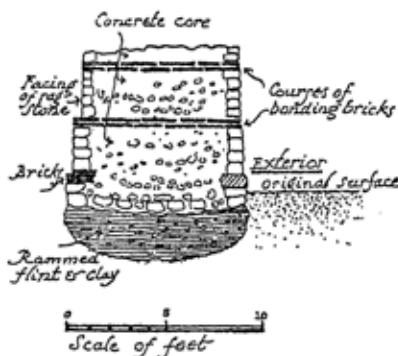
Whether parties of the invaders actually reached the suburbs of the capital or not, the alarm must have stimulated the authorities to set in motion every measure of precaution possible to secure the safety of the city. Had the fortifications not existed at this time, the need

¹ *Amm. Marc.*, Book XXVI. chap. iv. para. 5.

² *Amm. Marc.*, XXVII. viii. 7, "mersam difficultatibus summis."

of a defensive wall now became a matter of extreme urgency. There is strong likelihood that the walls of Londinium were commenced at this crisis, for the method of construction reveals evidences of the greatest haste. The photograph reproduced in these pages¹ which shows a section of the wall near Newgate in course of demolition very clearly indicates hasty workmanship. The concrete core, in certain places where it can be or has been examined, is laid with no regularity, and often shows signs of settlement. At one or two points the interior seems to be so chaotic that it gives the impression of the throwing in of material at almost panic pace. The foundation is only about 3 ft. 6 in. to 3 ft. in depth, and was so inadequate to support the weight of the wall that all sectional drawings show it as bulging outwards and sinking in the middle after the fashion of a soft cushion.

Cities, during the Roman period, are known to have walled themselves with almost unbelievable speed. Constantinople, in 447, when Attila was threatening the city, rebuilt the whole line of its earthquake-shattered inner wall in two months, and in addition put up a second rampart in front of it. This implied a total length of nearly ten miles in all, and the inner rampart was colossal in its dimensions, nearly twice the thickness of that of Londinium and not much less than double



SECTION OF THE WALL OF LONDINIUM SHOWING ITS INADEQUATE FOUNDATION.

In some places the concrete below the surface, composed of large stones resting upon the rammed flint and clay, was deeper than that shown here, but everywhere there was the same lack of solidity to be expected in such a work.

¹ Facing p. 164.

its height. Further than this there were many imposing towers. The land wall of Londinium was just over two miles in length and that facing the river measured not quite one mile and a quarter. Even allowing that the stone required for the external face had to be brought from as far as the quarries on the Medway, it is permissible to suppose that the land wall may have been raised to some height in a few weeks of concentrated labour on the part of all the able-bodied men available.

In the wall facing the Thames have been found many fragments of sculptured stone and marble, although the sections of the river front of the wall which have been examined are comparatively few. The discovery of these relics of buildings of consequence and artistic pretension seems to indicate the demolition of such edifices as interfered with the selected line of defence, or else a need for immediate protection which made it necessary to sacrifice existing buildings in order to find materials with the minimum loss of time. There is nothing at all unusual in this subordination of art to necessity: the Themistoclean walls of Athens were partly composed of the remains of temples and other buildings, which at other times would have been respected. At York the walls south of the Ouse at one point stand upon an elaborate mosaic pavement.

While certainty is at present impossible, the date of the landward wall of Londinium appears to be at the crisis of 367. Except at the gates it would seem that there were at first no towers or bastions. The river front seems clearly to have been built later.

The Emperor Valentinian I. was naturally alarmed on hearing of the disaster which had befallen prosperous Britain, hitherto immune from anything more serious than frontier affairs. He was in Gaul, and actually on his way to Treveri (Trier) from Ambiani (Amiens), when

the tidings of disaster were brought to him.¹ His first step to meet the emergency was the sending of Severus, the *Comes Domesticorum* (Commander of the Household Troops) to report on the situation, but he was quickly recalled. It is, however, possible that it was this officer who initiated the plans for the fortification of Londinium and other places. His reports seem to have been alarming, and when he returned, the Emperor directed Valens Jovinus, the *Magister Equitum* (Field-Marshal of Cavalry), to make another report on the situation. Having seen the extremes to which Britain was reduced, he hurriedly despatched to the Emperor an officer named Provertuides, with a message stating that conditions were so desperate that unless powerful reinforcements were sent all would be lost. Without further delay Valentinian appointed to the command in Britain Count Theodosius, who was of Spanish birth and undoubtedly at that time one of the ablest men in the Empire, being possessed of rare ability both for war and administration. To this trusted subordinate the Emperor assigned a strong force of field legions and auxiliary cohorts. Landing at Rutupiae, he found the road to the capital blocked by roving bands of invaders, and was therefore compelled to await the arrival of the first sections of reinforcements, which consisted of the Palatine Guard regiments Jovii and Victores, and some units of the Batavi and Heruli, which had already been in Londinium, as mentioned above.

As soon as the disembarkation had been carried out, Theodosius moved to the relief of Londinium. To effect this, his troops had the arduous task of clearing the surrounding country of the many invading parties which were plundering far and wide. The strength of the soldiers was taxed to the uttermost, but the operation

¹ *Amm. Marc.*, XXVII. viii. This is authority for the events to the appointment of Civilis.

was successfully carried through, and Theodosius entered the capital amidst the acclamation of the rejoicing citizens, bringing with him thousands of provincials whom he had rescued from the slave-gangs of the invaders, together with enormous quantities of recovered plunder. It is an interesting fact that he took especial care to see this plunder restored to its proper owners. Only a small percentage was deducted as a reward for the troops who had already, as the first-fruits of the campaign, effected so much.

There can be no doubt that Theodosius spent several months in the capital reorganising the shattered and demoralised army of Britain round the nucleus of his victorious troops. As many of the provincial soldiers had disbanded, and were therefore technically guilty of desertion, he issued proclamations guaranteeing immunity from punishment to all who rejoined the eagles without delay. The result was the pouring into Londinium of stragglers, who were soon re-embodied in regular units, and in this manner the forces at Theodosius's disposal for taking the offensive grew steadily throughout the winter of 368.

To aid his great general, Valentinian sent over to him one Dulcitus, an excellent officer, to replace Fullofaudes, the Dux Britanniarum. A new Vicarius or civil governor was also appointed in the person of Civilis, a man with a high temper, but inflexibly just—perhaps an indirect comment on his predecessor. Thus Londinium, throughout this crucial winter, was the very focus of the military and administrative activity of the three men who were preparing to restore Britain once more to peace and security.

The open spaces surrounding the city must inevitably have been the camping grounds of the growing army; huts and tents would have been everywhere in evidence; the strengthening or completion of the wall would have

been in progress; transport vehicles would have added congestion to the streets; a busy coming and going of orderlies from the camps and the administrative offices was a daily sight, and the feeling of great events impending would have been experienced in every quarter of the city. Wagon trains from Rutupiae laden with clothing, munitions and supplies of all descriptions must have rumbled over the bridge at all hours of the day and night.

No doubt the social side reflected the temporary militarisation of the place, and the reception chambers and dining rooms were enlivened by the presence of brilliant and often barbaric uniforms among the more sober garb of the citizens. Londinium was an opulent city. Its wealthier families could make considerable display when occasion required, and such an occasion was the present one, when hospitality to the saviours of the city was both a duty and a pleasure. Although the hours of work were long and strenuous, there were moments when relaxation was possible, and no attempt to reconstruct the life of Londinium during this winter would be complete if the element of a certain social brilliance were overlooked.

Preparations for the offensive having been completed, Theodosius launched his attack. Ammianus¹ describes the departure from the capital in a few telling words:

“And now Theodosius, that general of immortal fame, in the very fullness of his vigour marched forth from Augusta (Londinium as the ancients called it) with an army which had gathered together with wonderful energy.”

The campaign, in which the whole province was cleared of its invaders and retaliatory raids made by sea into Ireland, as far north as the Orkneys, was uniformly and completely successful, and Theodosius, having achieved

¹ *Amm. Marc.*, XXVIII. iii.

a very great task, returned to the south and re-entered Londinium "as celebrated for many great victories as Furius Camillus, or Papirius Cursor," the founders of Rome's dominion in Italy. So says the admiring Marcellinus, and he may be believed when he tells us that the inhabitants of Britain were "leaping for joy." The reception of their deliverers by the citizens of the capital must have been a more brilliant, joyous and heartfelt ceremony than had yet occurred in its annals. It is good to know that Theodosius was received by his somewhat unamiable Emperor with scarcely less cordiality, and was forthwith promoted to the highest military rank in the Empire, that of *Magister Equitum Praesentalis*¹ (Marshal of Cavalry with the Emperor).

The victory of Theodosius gave to Britain a further spell of peace, which was not broken until about 383, a period of some fourteen years, during which it is permissible to suppose that much of the damage caused by the invaders was made good. There is no other mention of Britain or British affairs in the pages of the invaluable Marcellinus except in 371, when he states that the Emperor Valentinian sent to the island a military settlement consisting of Buccinobantes, a tribe of the Alemanni, whom he had subjugated and deported. Where these Teutonic soldier colonists were settled is not known, but it is conceivable that on their way to their assigned tasks they passed through Londinium. Nothing more is recorded of Britain or its capital for twelve years. During this period great disasters overtook the Roman Empire. The able, though cruel, Valentinian I. died in 375, and was succeeded by his young son Gratian, who presently earned much unpopularity among his soldiers by his undisguised liking for barbarian dress and habits. The discontent affected the troops in Britain, who in 383 revolted and proclaimed

¹ *Amm. Marc.*, XXVIII. iii. 9.



A LOCK, KEYS, AND VARIOUS ROMAN LAMPS DISCOVERED IN LONDON.

1. Bronze hasped lock for a box. 2. Bronze keys. 3. Earthenware lamp with a stopper in the hole for filling. 4. A mould for a lamp. 5. Earthenware lamp in its tray for holding the oil drip. 6. Bronze hand lamp. 7 and 8. Bronze lamps for suspension—one with six burners. 9. Highly finished bronze lamp with two burners and a handle ornamented with a ram's head (6 and 9, *London Museum*; others, *Guildhall Museum*).

as Emperor their most distinguished general, the Spaniard Magnus Clemens Maximus.

While preparing for an invasion of Gratian's continental dominions, he made his headquarters in Londinium, where he re-established the Mint, and where the organisation of the army for the expedition was no doubt conducted. Troops on their way to Rutupiae, the usual point of embarkation, must have passed through the capital, and thus once more the streets echoed to the tramp of the legions. If, as is sometimes suggested, Legio XX, which had been at Deva for more than three centuries, formed part of this fourth-century expeditionary force, it may be that Londinium now saw the famous badge of the wild boar for the last time. There may have been much military pomp in the city at this time, but all thinking men must have viewed with alarm the diminution of the country's defensive forces. Maximus, however, persisted in his designs, and defeated and slew Gratian, only to hear that the Picts had at once seized the opportunity and had invaded Britain behind his back. He acted promptly, and the attack was speedily defeated, presumably by reinforcements sent back from the Continent.

For five years Maximus reigned over Britain, Gaul, and Spain, allowing Valentinian II., the youthful son of Gratian, to retain Italy and Africa by an agreement with Theodosius the Great, son of Britain's deliverer—Count Theodosius. But when, in 387, Maximus, breaking the pact upon which his power rested, invaded Italy, he was defeated in the following year by Theodosius and beheaded near Aquileia (north-east of Venice).

The five years of the reign of Maximus may have wrought little change in Londinium, but if, as is said, his ambition led him to drain Britain of its man power, it cannot be doubted that a sense of increasing anxiety and insecurity, in face of the growing overseas menace, would

have indirectly hampered trade. It is also stated, it is true by enemies of the Emperor, that he was avaricious and grasping, in other words that his taxation was very heavy—another cause for the curtailment of enterprise and consequent diminishing demand for labour. At that time, however, rough labour was to a considerable extent performed by slaves, and thus no very acute social problem presented itself. But at the same time it must be very clearly understood that the most prosperous days of Londinium Augusta were past, and although there may have still been intervals when the optimists began to think that the more flourishing years were returning, its existence henceforth was to be one of growing precariousness and uncertainty.

The population may not have diminished at this time: it may even have increased through the tendency in troubled times for the inhabitants of an exposed countryside to take refuge within the walls of fortified cities.

Whether the fresh waves of invasion began to distress Britain as early as 383, or whether the barbarians hung back until "Maxen Glwdig," as he is called in Welsh legend, had fallen is unknown, but it is quite certain that soon after his death, Britain was being harassed on every side. The worst enemies during this troubled period were the Irish who overran all Wales and harried the western and south-western coasts for many years led by the famous King Niall of the Nine Hostages.

The position must have deteriorated steadily between about 390 and 397, for the poet Claudianus,¹ who had the best possible sources of information, writes of Britain as living in continual dread of the painted Pict and the dart-throwing Scot, and watching anxiously for Saxon raids with every shift of the wind. It is possible that the coast flotillas, after the triumph of Theodosius, had fallen into a state of inefficiency, possibly owing to inability to spend

¹ Claudianus, *De Consulatu Stilichonis*, Book II. 247-55.

money in this direction. The distress of the province evoked about 397 a special effort at defence on the part of Flavius Stilicho, the Romanised Vandal who, as *Magister Militum*, ruled the Western Empire in the name of Honorius, the weak-minded boy who had succeeded his great father Theodosius. To the beneficial results of his activity Claudianus¹ bears witness. He says that Stilicho (that is Stilicho's officers) defeated the Picts and Saxons. The poem was written about the year 399, and since it dates these victories in the reign of Honorius, which began in 395, the operations must have taken place between that year and 399.

The fighting was followed by a systematic strengthening of the fortifications: Claudianus clearly implies this, and it is borne out by archæological evidence.

Londinium added bastions to its walls at some time in this latter period, and it seems reasonable to attribute them to this definitely recorded time of strengthening of fortifications. Archæology, unfortunately, as is almost invariably the case in the fourth century, gives no evidence as to the exact date, and thus there are no grounds whatever for denying that these additions to the walls may have been raised at an even later period as far on as some year between 410 and 450. These bastions were for some time thought to be mediæval, but careful examination, including an excavation carried out by Dr Philip Norman under the vestry of the Church of All Hallows, London Wall, proved that those which have been examined were of Romano-British origin. This would imply that the whole, numbering perhaps as many as thirty on the three landward sides, and possibly another fifteen or twenty facing the river, were added at the same time. It is quite likely that if bastions are discovered on the river front, they will be found to be contemporary with that part of the wall. The fact

¹ Claudianus, *In Eutropium*, l. 391-3.

that the wall facing the Thames contains fragments of destroyed houses, a feature lacking on the land sides, points to a later date for the water front.



A BASTION OF THE ROMAN WALL OF LONDON, NOW DEMOLISHED, AS IT APPEARED EXPOSED AT THE REAR OF NO. 7 FALCON SQUARE, ALDERSGATE.

Two courses of bonding bricks appear in the upper portion.

When Stilicho's officers had completed their work, Claudianus proudly declared that Britain was secure from external attack. Unfortunately for the island

province, events were soon to disprove this confident statement. Only three or four years later, when Stilicho's rival, Alaric, threatened to invade Italy, the great *Magister Militum* thought himself obliged to withdraw part of the garrison of Britain, and it seems nearly certain that one of the three legions which had been in Britain since the conquest by Claudius was now sent to the Continent.

Once more the people of Londinium would have seen with dismay in their hearts the passing through the city of a large number of the units which had stood between them and repetitions on successive occasions of the fearful experience of 367 and the following year. It does not appear, however, that any serious disaster happened for a number of years, in fact it seems probable that the provincial troops were successful in driving the Irish completely out of Wales. The great Irish King Niall was killed about 405 in the English Channel, and his successor Dathi entered into friendly relations with the Roman Government. In Gaul, however, a catastrophe was soon to take place. A great mass of Teutonic invaders crossed the middle Rhine on New Year's Eve, 406, and made a devastating irruption, penetrating as far south as Tolosa (Toulouse). The whole of central Gaul was laid waste, and its chief cities, including Treveri, Remi, Ambiani (Amiens), Atrebates (Arras), Parisii, Aureliani (Orleans) and Burdigala (Bordeaux), sacked. This invasion cut apart Britain from Stilicho at his headquarters in Italy. As far as Londinium was concerned the situation must have created a financial panic.

The ultimate result was to cause a burst of indignation in Britain, which, so far as can be seen, resolved the country to throw off its allegiance to the half-imbecile Honorius and his Teutonic Regent, who had shown their incapacity to protect the Empire. Naturally, as on

previous occasions, the officers and officials determined to set up an emperor of their own. Their first choice was a soldier named Marcus, who was almost immediately assassinated. In his place was elected an official named Gratianus, who is described as a *municeps*. This is interesting, for it indicates that he held high office in one of the cities of Britain, and may conceivably have been prefect of Londinium. There is nothing at all unlikely in the suggestion. If the preponderating size, wealth and influence of the great city be considered, its power to impose an emperor of its own choice on the Province is manifest.

Gratianus held power for only four months,¹ possibly a period when civil strife prevailed, for, like his predecessor, he came to a violent end. It is probable that the reason for his death was that he was unwilling to send the army away from the country to the help of Gaul. Acting on its own initiative, the army chose as emperor a man who is said to have been no more than a private soldier, meaning, perhaps, that he had risen from the ranks. He is said to have claimed descent from Constantine the Great, and assumed the imperial names of Flavius Claudius Constantinus. He crossed to Gaul without delay, and the defensive forces of Britain were again weakened. Thus when, in 409, a fresh onslaught on the British coasts was made by the Saxons, the new Emperor, with the best of his troops, was far away. The situation was critical, but the province rose to the occasion, organised new regiments to fill the gaps, and completely defeated the invaders. Zosimus gives the impression that some of the cities were attacked, and it is just possible that hostile ships came up the Thames as far as Londinium itself, only to meet so stout a resistance as to regret their temerity.

One of the results of this invasion was the decision to

¹ Zosimus, Book V.

revert to allegiance to the legitimate Emperor of the West, and although Honorius and his ministers, with Alaric in their very midst, could send no reinforcement to the defenders of Britain, they legalised the measures they had taken by a formal edict which would have been proclaimed in the capital. In fact throughout this period Londinium must have played a part of vital importance. The very fact that the invasion was a Saxon one brought it into the forefront of the defence, and its citizens must have provided not only manpower but supplies of all kinds and the essential financial resources.

Some half-dozen years later—exactly when is not known—the capital saw a brief glimpse of sunshine in the gathering clouds, when reinforcements came from the now recovered Gaul to strengthen the defence of Britain against Saxon raids, which were again becoming formidable, this enemy being able to resume the offensive after the defeat of 409. Although the authority for this is Gildas, who did not write before 540, there are grounds for thinking that until about 440 Britain remained in touch with the central Government, which continued to organise energetic resistance to its encircling enemies.

Between 427 and 430 the great general Aetius gained a succession of victories on the Continent and, in response to requests from Britain, appears to have sent reinforcements to aid its defence. It was possibly about this time that the last edition of the *Notitia Dignitatum* was compiled. It was an official and confidential list of the whole civil and military hierarchy of the Roman Empire. In it appears the diocese of Britannia with its five provinces, its Vicarius, Consulares and Praesides with the Treasury at Augusta (Londinium). Thus the last known official survey of the Western Empire shows that the capital of the province was Londinium.

A sidelight is turned upon Britain and its cities at this

time, *i.e.*, 429, in the life of St Germanus, who was present with his friend Lupus, Bishop of Augustobona Tricassium (Troyes), on a mission from Pope Celestinus I. Although the country was still facing raids from Picts as well as Saxons, an impression is obtained of a certain wealth and prosperity. Attention is drawn to the magnificent appearance of the magnates against whom the two bishops argued. Germanus and his friend also venerated the shrine of St Alban outside Verulamium, which fact reveals some evidence of fairly peaceful conditions. Up to the present no permanent foothold had been obtained in the country by any of its numerous invaders, except in one perhaps doubtful instance on the Yorkshire coast. It is extremely probable that the Great Synod held in Britain on this occasion sat in Londinium Augusta itself. The reasons are (1) that it was the natural place for such an assembly, and (2) that, after the proceedings, the Gallic bishops went to venerate the burial place of St Alban. Had the Synod sat at Verulamium, the act of worship could scarcely have been deferred to the end of the controversy.

Thus the last glimpse obtainable tends to show that if the greatest days of Londinium were now past, yet it was still the large and influential capital of an important Roman province, with prosperity sufficient to allow its officials and wealthier inhabitants to indulge in considerable outward display. Since Gaul had been restored to a state of comparative peace there may have been a slight revival of trade, especially in view of the fact that the Gallic cities of the north and west had formed a kind of federal league within the Empire, and had thus been in a position to make a stand against the disruptive influences. Even allowing that their purchasing capacity had been much reduced, there may have been resources upon which to draw sufficient to enable the Gallic merchants to maintain a certain volume of trade.

It might be thought that the numismatic evidence denies the possibility of any such intercourse, seeing that very few coins later than the reign of Honorius are found in Britain,¹ but if the conditions of minting during the late Roman period are properly considered and understood, there is nothing remarkable in this cessation. In the first place the mints were established primarily for military purposes, and in the prevailing financial stringency it is scarcely likely that supplies of newly-minted coins were shipped across the Channel for the Army of Britain. Secondly, *the bulk of the coinage of Britain came from the mint at Treveri, which was destroyed in the great invasion of 407.* After this disaster its activities were brief and spasmodic at best, and, considering the condition of the Rhine Provinces, there was only the remotest chance of any of this scanty output filtering through to Britain. Thirdly, the slowness of the movement of coins, at a time when communications are interrupted and trade is becoming more and more difficult, if not actually stagnant, is axiomatic. Even in London to-day with the mint turning out millions of coins annually, the average age of the pieces in circulation is scarcely realised. Vast quantities of pennies minted from 1860 to 1865 are still passing from hand to hand, and silver of that period and earlier is also circulating. Only rarely does one find coins of the current year in one's possession: as a rule the latest are one or two years behind,² and this in conditions so vastly more favourable to rapid diffusion that further to pursue the subject is merely to labour the obvious.

¹ Coins of (1) Valentinian III. (425-455), in collection of coins found in Cambridgeshire, now at Barrington; (2) Lybius Severus (461-465), aureus found in Isle of Wight. V.C.H., Hants.

² This is supported by many tests, covering a period of eighteen months, in which the average age of coins passing through the writer's hands was from eight to twelve years.

It is only necessary to point out that if money under the best modern conditions remain in circulation as a matter of course for at least sixty years, the coins of Honorius found in various sites throughout Britain may well have been current for at least as long as that period. It therefore follows that with the chief mint destroyed, overseas trade almost at a standstill, and communication with other parts of the Empire to a great extent broken, towns and forts held against the invaders for very many years after the death of Honorius would be unlikely to yield coins of any later emperor.

It has been claimed that Roman coinage travelled not only far, which is indubitable, but also fast. The question of speed must have been dependent on stability of trade and rapidity of communications. During certain times one can imagine comparative rapidity of transit, but in the period under consideration normal trade relations had ceased, *therefore movement of coins became practically impossible.*

It seems to be a fact that the Roman coins found in Dacia are not later than about the year 256, while the final withdrawal of the garrison did not take place before 270 at the earliest—perhaps not until 274. In the case of Dacia there was the mint of Siscia within easy reach by land and more than once temporary mints almost on its border, and yet no coins have been found in the trans-Danubian province later than the early years of Gallienus (253-268). The irresistible conclusion seems to be that in troubled times coins took more than fifteen years to traverse about 250 miles of good road and navigable river.

Finally, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Londinium was still a Roman city in about 457, and yet, so far as records go, it has yielded no coin later than Honorius—a gap of thirty-four years.

CHAPTER VII

THE LAST DAYS OF ROMAN LONDON, A.D. 429-582

AFTER the visit of St Germanus in 429 there seems to have followed an interval of twelve years of apparent peace—a brief period of calm before the overwhelming storm of invasion broke upon Roman Britain. Although no definite abandonment of the province was made by the central Roman Government at Ravenna, yet, about the year 440, there seems to have been a large withdrawal of troops for the defence of Italy; and these troops did not return. The only authority is Gildas, but his testimony is indirectly borne out by events elsewhere. In the preceding year the terrible Vandal King, Gaiseric, captured Carthage and thus not only seized the great granary of the Western Empire, but was only three days' sail from Rome itself. The effect was immediate and disastrous. He at once began to ravage the coasts of Italy, and the great Aetius, who hitherto had successfully defended Gaul and Britain, was obliged to hurry back to protect the centre of the Imperial power.

Preparations for this withdrawal were, according to Gildas, put in hand and great attention paid to fortifications everywhere. The organising of new regiments from the Romano-British population to fill the expected chasm also proceeded apace, and Gildas goes on to mention that private subscriptions were raised in order to defray the cost of these measures. In this Londinium, as the largest and most important city in the country, must have played a very prominent part. It is just possible that the bastions of the defensive wall were added at this time, there being no definite information to ascribe them to the period of Stilicho's activity. Certainly the builders of at least three of the bastions showed considerable indifference to statuary and sculptured stones generally

when seeking materials for strengthening the defences of the city, for among other fragments they flung into its solid core the statue illustrated on page 207.

The news of the weakening of the garrison to save Rome from Gaiseric appears to have quickly crossed the North Sea and become common knowledge in the villages of the Saxons and their kindred tribes. The attraction of Britain was increased by the fact that in the Saxon hinterland, at no great distance for mounted men, were the destroying hordes of Attila—yellow-skinned, slant-eyed and brutish-looking Mongoloid raiders, of whom the average Teuton went in dread. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Teutons eagerly embraced the opportunity of securing a hold on the fertile and now inadequately defended shores of Britain. They lost no time, for only about a year later, a Gallic Chronicle¹ records that "the Britains (*i.e.* the five Provinces) which up to this time have suffered various events and disasters, are reduced under the rule of the Saxons." This is a lurid over-statement, but it does point to a very great and disastrous invasion. Gildas adds certain details. He says that the Wall of Hadrian was stormed and had to be abandoned, owing to the indiscipline and lack of experience of the new levies which had endeavoured to fill the place of the well-trained *numeri* and *cohortes* just withdrawn.

It is questionable whether Londinium was actually attacked at this time, but seeing that the southern parts of the island had been so completely overrun that the Gallic chronicler writes that the Romano-Britons had been conquered, the Saxon bands and perhaps ships may have been within sight from the hills round the city. Having easier prey at their mercy it is fairly certain that the invaders would not have wasted their strength against walled cities. This view is confirmed by the

¹ *Chronica Gallica*, sub anno 441-2.



ROMAN SCULPTURED STONES FOUND IN LONDON.

1. Tombstone to Alfidius Olussa of the Pomptine tribe—Tower Hill.
2. A rather roughly sculptured head.
3. A stone urn hollowed out above.
4. Part of the upper portion of the tomb of Alpinus Classicianus—Tower Hill.

(British Museum.)

silence of Gildas as to the fall of towns at this time. The city no doubt did its best to organise the resistance which presently was successful in driving back the Saxons and their allies to the ships in which they crossed, but it must at this time have suffered greatly from the effects of the famine consequent upon the interference with cultivation. Probably the population of the capital was considerably reduced by losses in war and the inevitable effect of hunger and disease. The suburbs no doubt became sparsely occupied; indeed particularly daring raiders may have burnt outlying houses, and many others are likely to have been dismantled to provide materials for the bastions if built at this time.

The cessation of overseas trade, caused by the new wave of invasion, must have had a paralysing effect upon the already diminished prosperity of the great port. The result of this cutting off of the main industry of Londinium cannot but have been disastrous to the whole social structure of the city. In place of the steady activities of warehouses and quays in the old days of security, there was now little to be done by sea which was not attended by extreme risks. Vessels due in did not arrive; the means of executing such orders for goods as were received gradually shrank. Since the disaster of 367 Londinium had experienced no comparable period of distress and danger.

But the end was not yet. Although, in 446, matters had reached such a pitch that the Romano-Britons—very probably the citizens of Londinium itself—sent a pathetically-worded appeal for aid to Aetius, they were actually on the threshold of a surprising victory. Apparently, as later during the Danish invasion, many of the attackers had returned home, presumably to secure their plunder, while the new British troops were learning experience in the hard school of necessity. In any case, it seems that almost immediately after dispatching the appeal, the

military situation took a turn for better, so that in a surprisingly brief space of time the country was cleared of its ravagers, except perhaps on the north-east coast.

There is indirect proof that this was the case, for, in 447, St Germanus, now in extreme old age, paid another visit to the country accompanied by Severus, Bishop of Treveri. His biographer has nothing to say, either of danger in crossing the Channel or of any war-like activity in the island. It seems quite impossible, had the most eminent and revered figure in Roman Gaul been exposed to perils of this description, that the fact would have been left unrecorded by the adulatory hagiographer. St Germanus's errand, as on the former occasion, was the combating of the heresy of Pelagius, and during the mission he is, of course, recorded to have performed many miracles. The single point of possible interest, however, is that during the visit he came in contact with a personage of high rank, Elafius. The chronicler's words are so extremely obscure that it is impossible to draw from them a definite meaning, but he certainly appears to imply that he was the Governor, very possibly the last *Vicarius* appointed to preside over the island province.

According to the hysterical Gildas, who is the single writer who gives anything remotely resembling a connected narrative of events during this obscure period, the victory of 446-7 was followed by a brief period of remarkable recovery. Amongst other things he mentions that there had never been such a succession of abundant harvests. This prosperity, however, was accompanied by an outburst of luxury and moral laxity which much shocked the monastic writer. There was also considerable civil disturbance, owing to the fact that the Roman administrative system had been totally dislocated, and there were violent quarrels among the nobles who aspired to the positions of generals and local governors,

or as Gildas calls them, *tyranni*. Among these were two competitors, with both of whom Londinium was probably well acquainted. They were a certain Ambrosius,¹ who seems to have belonged to a powerful family with strong Roman sympathies, and a Welsh baron from Brecknockshire named Vortigern. The latter presently obtained an unquestioned supremacy, and it was he who on receiving news of an impending invasion of the Picts, took the ill-advised step of enlisting against them Teutonic mercenaries, who were led by two somewhat shadowy chieftains named Hengist and Horsa (=steed and mare).

The engagement of these adventurers was the true beginning of the English conquest of Britain. Having obtained, by the grant to them of the Isle of Thanet, a definite foothold in the country, the intruders gradually pushed westward until, by the year 596, they had conquered two-thirds of its area. During this long period of nearly one hundred and fifty years (about 450 to 596) Londinium is only mentioned in 457. In that year Hengist overcame the Southern Britons at the passage of the Cray in Kent and the defeated troops "forsook Kentland and fled in great fear" to Londinium.² That is all the information given: there is, however, not a word to warrant the supposition that the city was stormed by the victors. The taking and sacking of the most important place in the whole country would have constituted a triumph of so outstanding and sensational a character, that it cannot be imagined that the chronicle of the conquerors would have omitted to record it. The capture of the isolated little fortified town of Anderida³ on the Sussex coast is celebrated in a manner which

¹ Not the Ambrosius Aurelianus who afterwards became the ruler of the Romano-Britons, but probably his father.

² Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub-anno 457.

³ Now called Pevensey.

indicates that it was regarded as a remarkable victory. But as regards Londinium the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is silent, and it seems impossible to interpret its silence otherwise than by concluding that, whatever may in other respects have been the fate of the once great and wealthy Augusta, the English never captured it by military force. The last gleam of light in the gathering murk of that age of disruption shows the English ravaging and settling in Kent under the kingly rule of Hengist; it also shows the defeated British troops abandoning the defence of the south-east, and in full retreat upon Londinium. But athwart the path of the advancing invaders stood the grey bastioned walls which had been built long ago in view of such a contingency. It would appear that for some time they formed the south-eastern angle of the area defended by the Romanised British.

History, however, is silent as to the fate of the capital. It is not known what happened to it during the long period of nearly a century and a half which succeeded the last definite reference just mentioned. When all hope of saving the central portion of Roman Britain from the Anglo-Saxon invaders had vanished, it is possible that it opened its gates by formal capitulation to one of the rulers in its neighbourhood. Any statement by modern writers as to the storm and sack of Roman London by the English is pure conjecture, based on no historical evidence whatsoever. The people of London have always shown themselves to be of very tough fibre, and capitulation on honourable terms is a far more likely occurrence than a failure to defend its walls.

A highly probable date for the definite passing of Roman Londinium into English London is about 570, for only a few years later King Aethelberht of Kent was defeated by Ceawlin of Wessex at Wimbledon. The site of the battle renders it likely that the Kentish King had taken up a position to defend London, and the

inference is that at some previous time the city had become subject to him or a predecessor.

Londinium by 570 may have been isolated from the nucleus of Romano-British territory still kept together around Corinium through the advance of the invaders into the Chilterns, and its much-diminished population probably felt its incapacity any longer to keep in repair and garrison more than three miles of wall. The lapse of time had doubtless softened the earlier asperity of the struggle: Englishmen and Briton had learned to know and respect one another: there was not now any question of a policy of annihilating massacre on the part of the intruders; indeed, unless Bede be indulging in quite unscrupulous idealisation, the conquerors of Kent were a decidedly attractive and reasonable people, possessed of all the elements of high civilisation. King Aethelberht's answer to Augustine, when the latter explained his mission, is full of the good sense and kindly feeling characteristic of the modern English gentleman.

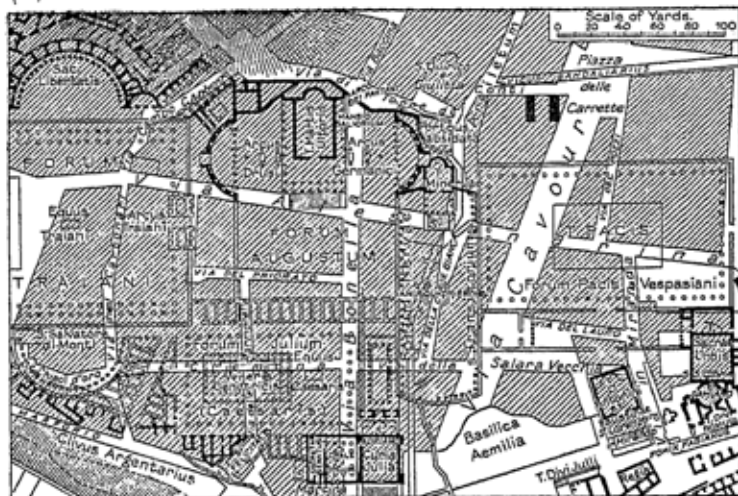
There was therefore, in the middle of the sixth century, no absolute bar to the conclusion of an honourable agreement between the citizens of London and the enlightened and powerful prince who ruled the country almost up to the walls of the city. With the revival of civilisation in Kent industry and commerce must have tended to develop in a certain degree, and the interests of the Londoners would have been in the direction of coming to a satisfactory *modus vivendi* with the new settlers of the country. If the later Romano-British rulers were as unamiable and addicted to dynastic warfare as indicated by Gildas, the Londoners might well have thought it time to break away from them: in that case inclination and self-interest would, not for the first or last time in history, have coincided.

This is in the nature of surmise, but it is intelligent surmise, based upon a study of the existing conditions, of

which history and archæology afford some indication. On all considerations it appears probable that at some time between the years 570 and 580 London passed definitely into the political position of an English city. Its exact status cannot be defined: it has always, throughout its long history, occupied a curiously distinctive position in England—that of a somewhat self-contained unit in the body politic—as it were, a kingdom within a kingdom. There are many points which cannot easily be cleared up, but many features in its civic constitution appear to indicate that this independent status was recognised by the English princes; and thus, without violence, Londinium passed from the position of a Romano-British city-state to that of the greatest city of the nascent English kingdom.

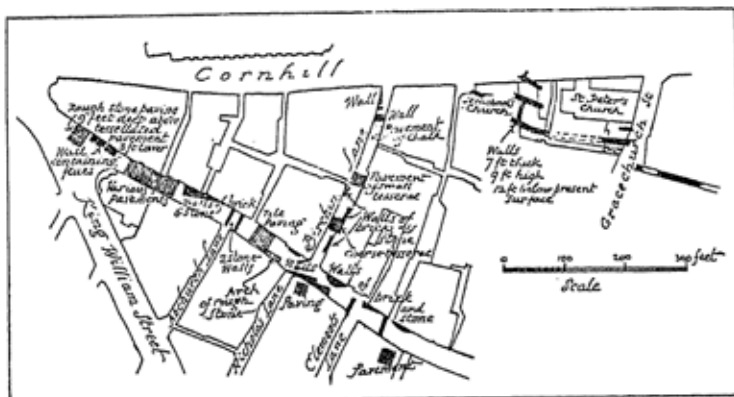
In view of the fact that there has been a tendency to believe that Londinium, wrecked and depopulated by the Teutonic invaders, lay for a considerable period a ghostly and deserted waste, it is important to give the problem due consideration from every standpoint. Archæology has not been able as yet to give an answer.

The level of Roman London is found as a rule from 12 to 20 feet below the present surface and the fragmentary plans of Roman buildings which have been pieced together show that the modern streets do not, as a rule, coincide with Roman buildings. These facts suggest at once a great gap during which all traces of streets were obliterated under a vast accumulation of ruin and subsequent vegetable deposit. Whether such an inference be correct may be judged from a comparison with Rome itself. Reproduced here is a portion of the very centre of the Imperial City showing the relation of modern streets to the buildings and thoroughfares of the greatest days of the city. It will be seen that the streets of to-day cut deliberately across the sites of sacred temples and other large buildings of first-class importance.



ANCIENT AND MODERN ROME.

Present streets shown white and blocks of existing buildings shaded.



STREET PLANS OF CENTRAL PORTIONS OF ROME AND LONDON, SHOWING THE RELATION OF MODERN STREETS TO ROMAN BUILDINGS OF THE PERIOD OF THE EMPIRE.

In both cases the modern streets bear scarcely any relation to the ancient ones, and in those of Rome, which was never deserted, they cut diagonally across buildings and forums.

London suffered terribly during the Danish invasions in the ninth century, and Rome, south of the Capitol, was laid waste in 1084. To each city came a great disaster at a comparatively late date, and to these calamities must be attributed a great deal of the wiping out of streets and important buildings.

Further than this, the classic structures so disregarded are at depths beneath the surface ranging up to 40 feet. And yet it is known that except for a period of forty days Rome was never deserted.

It is a significant fact that the nomenclature of early London came through into the Anglo-Saxon period not only in regard to the name of the city itself, but also so far as concerns Ludgate, Dowgate (? Dwr¹ or Watergate) and doubtfully Billingsgate. How the names of mere entries into the city, seeing that no gate names have been found throughout the Roman Empire, could have survived even for a single generation of desertion, much less for the century and a half which has been frequently accepted without demur, requires a great deal of explanation which is not yet forthcoming.

The foregoing, coupled with the significant comparison with Rome, compel me to express my scepticism as to any interval of entire abandonment. Large areas of dilapidation and ruin by fire, storm and neglect and a very great shrinkage of population cannot be doubted by any conscientious archæologist or historian, but that continuity of life within Londinium was maintained throughout the Dark Ages seems to me to be a fact.²

¹ Dover is on the Dour—obviously a corruption of the Celtic word Dwr, meaning water. Dowgate was at the entrance of the Wallbrook, and was therefore actually the watergate of the city.

² In the will of John Mabb, citizen of London, dated 1578, he left one-third of his property to his wife, one-third to his children, and the remainder in various ways of distribution, and he mentions that this division into three equal parts was "according to thauncient custome of this citey of Londoun." This is Roman law pure and simple. Sir Laurence Gomme, in his *The Governance of London*, p. 139, claims that this law of London, which was only abolished in the reign of George I. (II. cap. 18), had come through from the days when Britain was a Roman province. This appears to me to be worthy of the most careful consideration. That the Teutonic newcomers found their customs opposed by a solid body of codified municipal law appeared to Gomme to be an unquestionable fact.

CHAPTER VIII

LONDINIUM IN RELATION TO THE ROAD SYSTEM OF BRITAIN

If a map showing the Roman roads of Britain be studied, it will at once be apparent that Londinium stood at the centre of the whole system. In all directions great arterial thoroughfares led to every town of consequence in the province. While actually only six of the great routes leave the capital, it will be seen that these soon fan out into exactly double that number, giving direct access to every part of the country.

No other town has anything remotely approaching this central position except Corinium, and there it will be seen at once that while this important city stands at the meeting-place of five roads, yet two of them are accounted for by the Fosse Way—a lateral thoroughfare joining the somewhat remote districts of the Fens and Damnonia. At the most Corinium was a western ganglion of ways subsidiary to the national system which centred at Londinium.

How far these Roman ways radiating from London followed the primitive Celtic roads or tracks cannot be ascertained. Attempts have been made at various times to pick out certain thoroughfares and to suggest that they are of pre-Roman origin, but one is compelled to admit that there is little or no real evidence to work upon beyond probabilities and the presence of prehistoric tumuli. The study of the ridgeways in the southern counties of England in relation to the earliest land charters is revealing their great antiquity, and there can be little doubt that The Pilgrims' Way along the hills of Hampshire, Surrey and Kent is of pre-Roman origin. No doubt geographical conditions caused the pre-Roman ways to take approximately the same routes as those

followed by the great road-makers. That the ancient tracks went with general directness to their objectives is quite possible. H. M. Stanley and others have commented on the directness of primitive roads in Central Africa.

That there was a very ancient route from Kent to a point where the Thames was fordable and onwards to the tribal capital at St Albans is beyond dispute, but where it crossed the river remains somewhat in doubt. The view which I am inclined to take is that the ancient ford on that route was at Chelsea¹; that there was another—a rather dangerous one—at the Custom House, a little above the Tower of London, and that a wooden bridge was built at London by the British at an uncertain date before the Claudian Conquest in A.D. 43. I have also suggested that a Roman bridge was probably built by Caesar, and that it may have been left standing. There is not space here to discuss this interesting problem at length, and it is just possible that, to those who are not deeply interested in the elucidation of such a problem, the close examination of the evidence might prove tedious and unsatisfying. The map which I have compiled, if carefully studied, will give certain basic information and will suggest ideas, and the reader whose appetite is whetted should read Mr Reginald A. Smith's highly illuminating article printed in *Archæologia*.²

Whatever may be discovered as to the relation of prehistoric London to the Celtic tracks or chariot ways, it is not open to doubt that soon after the Roman occupation all the roads led into the city, and, since the place had acquired outstanding importance as early as A.D. 60, it is a rational inference that it was already the focus of the the provincial communications. By the third century

¹ Pp. 42 and 44 *infra*.

² "Roman Roads and the Distribution of Saxon Churches in London," *Archæologia*, vol. 68, pp. 229-62.



ROMAN SHOES FOUND IN LONDON.

Those on the left and above were laced along one side. The sole with the pointed toe is part of a woman's shoe, and that on the right belonged to a child, some of the shoes were higher at the ankle, and some were less perforated. None have even the slightest heel.

(*British Museum.*)

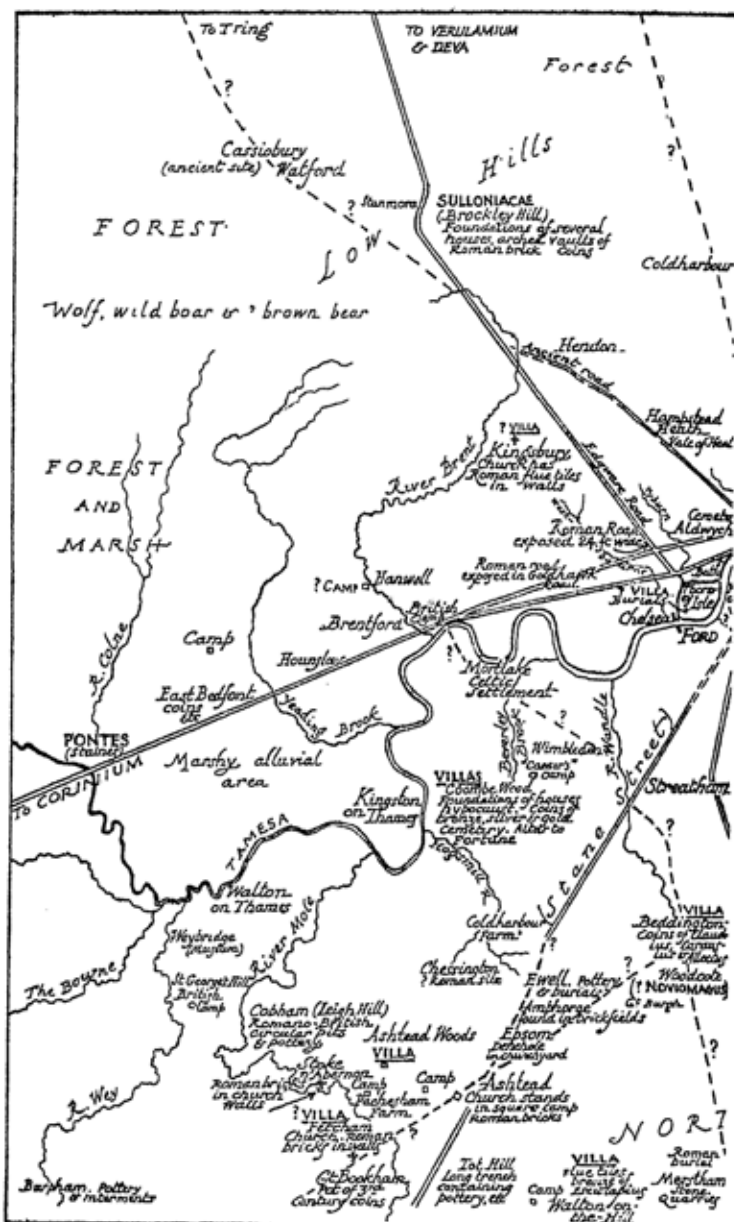


that system was fully developed as regards all the arteries of major importance. It is the system of which an impression is afforded by the catalogue of routes called the *Itinerarium Antonini*. Although this list is of immense importance, being almost the only surviving example of its kind, it is probably only an amateur and second-rate production, defective in several respects and not scientifically arranged.¹ Its special merit is that it gives a fairly accurate list of distances from point to point, thus enabling the investigator to locate the sites of many lost stations.

Of the great roads entering Londinium, that from Rutupiae (Richborough) must have always ranked as the most important. It was the link which joined the British capital with the continental world of the Roman Empire. Almost every one of consequence who came to the city from Gaul traversed the sixty odd miles of what, in post-Roman times, came to be known as the Watling Street. Military units marched along that pleasant Kentish highway, and supplies and equipment, which did not come by water to the Thames, must have been brought in wheeled transport wagons or on the backs of animals by the same route. Subsequently, no doubt, the southern road, now called the Stane Street, and also that from Clausentum (Bitterne, near Southampton) brought Continental produce to Londinium, but the route from Gaul to the British capital was pre-eminently that which traversed Kent.

I suspect that idlers in the city, who wished for inexpensive amusement, and were in search of bright scraps of information as to coming events, would have gravitated towards the bridge, where they could watch the stream of human life, fed by at least four Kentish ports and one or two on the coast beyond the great dendrogenous zone

¹ "The Legacy of Rome," article on Communication and Commerce by G. H. Stevenson, Fellow of University College, Oxford, p. 159.



THE ENVIRONS OF

The Roman roads which are fairly well ascertained are shown with double lines, and those to the south of the city have been found a fair number of villa or country house sites. These have given very few traces of the existence of Romano-British houses. Sulloniacae appears to have been omitted in the southern suburbs of London. There are practically no indications of broken lines, are suggested by Mr R. Miller Christy.

beyond the hills to the south—almost an unexplored no-man's-land to the citizens of Londinium.

North of the Thames, at least six gateways led out to important highways. Ludgate and Newgate were the outlets for the routes to the west. They converged as they approached the Brentford loop of the Thames, and united went onwards to the tribal capital of Calleva Atrebatum (Silchester). There three roads directed towards the capital met. They came from Venta Belgarum (Winchester), where the army clothing factory was eventually established¹; from Isca Damnoniorum (Exeter), at the extremity of the south-western artery; and from Corinium Dobunorum (Cirencester), the second largest city in Britain. This thoroughfare not only received, at a short distance, that from Aquae Sulis (Bath), but was prolonged beyond Corinium to Glevum (Gloucester), where it crossed the Severn and followed the south coast of Wales to the legionary base at Isca Silurum (Caerleon, near Newport), and finally reached far-off Maridunum (Caermarthen). It was by one of the western gateways, therefore, that those in need of the cure at the hot springs on the Avon left the city, and by the same roads went officers and men on their way to take up their duties with Legio II on the confines of mountainous Cambria.

There seems little doubt that Newgate also formed the way out of the city to the north-west, for, in order to reach the ancient road to Verulamium and beyond, it was necessary to go as far as the neighbourhood of the Marble Arch. An alternative route has been suggested by Mr Reginald Smith, who has traced to some extent the course of an ancient way across Hampstead Heath to Hendon, which must have joined the Watling Street a little to the north of the Brent. If this road may be

¹ *Notitia Dignitatum*, as "Venta" only but almost certainly Venta Belgarum on account of the local wool supply.

accounted of pre-Roman origin, it is a further piece of evidence for the existence of London in prehistoric times.

Whether the Watling Street were joined near the site of the Marble Arch or north of the point where it crosses Brent, it was the great route which traversed Britain diagonally and ended at Deva (Chester), the fixed camp of Legio XX. From this military base ran the western highway to the Wall of Hadrian, and also the road to Segontium (Caernarvon) and Anglesey.

Either Cripplegate or Aldersgate may have been the exit for the link with the Watling Street just mentioned, otherwise the purpose of these gates does not seem too clear.

From Bishopsgate went the main trunk route to the north leading to the great potteries at Durobrivae (Castor, near Peterborough), on to the Colony of Lindum (Lincoln), and so to Eboracum (York), the third and most important military centre of the province, where at first Legio IX and, after 119/120, Legio VI held watch and ward over the danger zone of the north. Beyond Eboracum this great artery, in mediaeval days named Ermine Street, was prolonged through the country of the Brigantes to the eastern end of the Wall at Corstopitum and Pons Aelii. Onwards to the north yet farther ran this highway, for passing Hadrian's imposing barrier, it continued over the bleak plains to Trimontium (near Melrose), and until 211 it was prolonged far beyond the Tweed to the turf wall which ran between Clyde and Forth.

Through the arches of Roman Bishopsgate therefore came and went all who had business in the eastern midlands and the far north. One may imagine the marked difference in the attitude of mind between those who left Londinium by the ways to the north and north-west, and those who went out of the city at dawn by way of

the bridge, or westward with the sun full behind their backs sending long shadows ahead on the well-kept roadway. Farewells in the first instances may have been tinged with no little anxiety, while in the latter one may picture envious comment, congratulation, and all sorts of pleasantries.

The last important exit from the capital was that by way of Aldgate, the portal for the low countries of Britain, and for one town at least of no little consequence—Camulodunum, upon which Claudius had bestowed the dignity of capital—a position it was so soon to lose to its prosperous neighbour on the Thames.

If the map of the environs of Londinium be examined, it will be seen that up to the present time villa sites are very much more numerous on the south side of the Thames. From Kingston along the Mole, and thence by the North Downs to Titsey and Keston, and so to the valley of the Darent in Kent, there is a chain of habitations. The fact that nearly all Essex churches which go back as far as the twelfth century, contain Roman brick and perhaps other re-used materials in their walls, suggests the presence of ruined houses in the vicinity of each. At Kingsbury, in Middlesex, the church also contains Roman materials, and at Brockley Hill, Stanmore, foundations of houses have been found. Surrey and Kent seem to have been the favoured parts, and perhaps good corn-lands there led to the acquisition of wealth. Possibly wealthy citizens had their country seats on the pleasant sites indicated on the map. With a well-kept road and a pair of good horses, a chariot would soon take banker or merchant twenty miles out of the city.

CHAPTER IX

THE DEFENSIVE WALL OF LONDINIUM

RIGHT up to the eighteenth century the ancient nucleus of the city of London was engirdled by the wall erected by its citizens in the third or fourth century of the Christian era. As late as 1477, Ralph Josceline, Lord Mayor of that year, restored the whole of the northern face from Aldgate to Aldersgate, and it was only in 1766, that the Commissioners of Sewers sought permission from Parliament to sweep away this enduring monument of the Roman epoch of London. The work of destruction was fortunately by no means complete, many long sections having been left for piecemeal destruction in later years, and happily builders have often preferred to utilise portions of the ancient structure rather than face the heavy work of demolition. Thus, buried out of sight and wellnigh forgotten by its citizens, the historic bulwarks of Londinium still exist in fragmentary fashion throughout nearly the whole of their length.

In at least two sectors the wall with its mediaeval additions rears itself to a height of more than 25 feet. Further there remain visible two of the rounded bastions added to the curtain which, when first built, was broken only by the gateways.

It has already been observed that there were two or three periods during which the wall might have been built, and with the various historical crises successively experienced by the city in one's mind, a study of the fabric itself will perhaps enable readers to form their own conclusions as to the circumstances attending its construction.

The general conclusion arrived at by those who have watched excavations on the wall is that the landward sides were built first without bastions, and with a com-

paratively small ditch; that the river wall was added at some subsequent period; and either at the same time or shortly afterwards the whole enceinte was strengthened with bastions and the ditch widened and deepened.

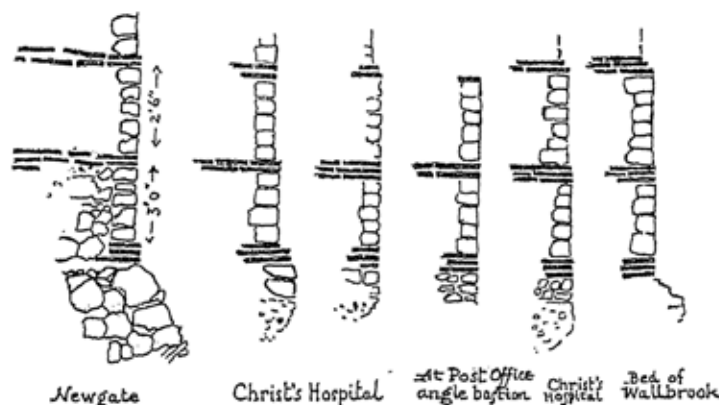
On the landward sides there is a certain uniformity of plan throughout, and the plinth, the one feature which breaks the exterior surface, is found at every point where the lowest portion of the structure has been exposed. Courses of bonding brick also impart an appearance of great regularity and the thickness remains practically uniform throughout the entire perimeter. At all points examined, the external as well as internal surfaces are faced with hammer-dressed roughly squared stones, and the bulk of this material is of Kentish rag. All this uniformity supports the theory of a comprehensive plan regularly carried out.

However carefully the work is examined, the comprehensive character of the whole remains indubitable, but in detail there is very obvious evidence of a certain indifference, the bonding bricks being in layers of varying thickness and in places not extending through the whole fabric. A careful comparison of eight sections reveals complete diversity of treatment of the bonding courses and the stepping on the internal face varies also.

The lowest courses of brickwork are laid on the face only and are, except in one of the instances, always three in number. In the layer above, the courses of brick always run right through the wall, but they vary between two and three in number and are laid in every possible variety of position in regard to the stepping; the next layer nearly always contains two courses, but they are laid either with or without stepping and also in all the possible arrangements of position. This is clearly shown in the adjoining illustration. Had there been anything approaching a close surveyance and

general superintendence of the whole work, such variations could not have occurred. It seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that no uniform specification was given to the superintendents or foremen of the different sections. The omission of instructions as to the profile of the interior face requires some explanation.

Coming to the foundations, it is clear that they were formed by digging in the brick earth a trench from 3 to



SECTIONS OF THE INTERNAL FACE OF THE WALL OF LONDINIUM
FOR COMPARISON.

Showing the general similarity of treatment but irregularity of detail. Above the lowest or plinth courses the layers of brick bonding were laid through the whole thickness of the wall.

4 feet deep and about 10 feet wide, or scarcely greater in width than the wall itself. This trench was filled with a mass of rammed flint and clay or in places with broken ragstone instead of the flints. One cannot fail to observe that this foundation was not especially satisfactory. A practical builder would undoubtedly be of opinion that the natural surface of the gravel of the site would have provided a more secure base. This would in itself suggest that there was inadequate time for laying suitable foundations such as those which are found under the walls of average buildings throughout

the Roman city where, under the walls most recently exposed, a layer of good concrete $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness projects well beyond the wall which it supports, as in all good modern building.

The concrete of the wall was carried up on this foundation. There was first a plinth of about 2 feet in height faced with two or three courses of ragstone topped externally by a chamfered course of ferruginous sandstone and internally by a layer of three bricks in thickness. Above this the wall rose in four stages, tapering slightly for another 14 feet, its average thickness being 8 feet. At a fifth stage it lessened to about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and so continued up to the parapet walk which appears to have been some 25 feet above the ground. The reduction of thickness is open to question in view of the fact that the highest part of the pure Roman work still in existence does not continue above the fourth stage, so that quite possibly the attenuation was less than in the reconstruction of later times. From the time of Alfred right up to the fifteenth century the upper portions of the wall required a great deal of repair, and it is therefore a possibility that the top third was thinner and less strong than the lower two-thirds.

Practically speaking the wall was composed of stages of solid concrete, for the facing, being thin and in no sense independent of the core, might be called a part of it. Obviously the intention was to build in regular stages separated from one another by layers of brickwork, and it is in the fabric of these successive stages that the character of the work is most clearly revealed. The proper method of construction would have been to pack the components of the concrete in close layers and then to spread mortar on each in turn so as to permit it thoroughly to penetrate into all the interstices. Having thus built up a stage of four or five such courses, the whole should have been allowed to settle and the



THE DEFENSIVE WALL OF LONDINIUM, NEAR NEWGATE.

A photograph taken when this section of the Roman wall was in process of demolition. The interior face is presented with the lowest courses of bricks (level with the star), showing above the roughly-laid foundation of concrete. From this photograph the chaotic nature of the interior of the wall is very clearly shown.

hollow on top would then be filled up to afford a level floor for the layers of bricks.

In very few portions of the wall of Londinium has this ideal procedure been carried out. The work was built in such haste that the brick courses in various places sag down upon the sunken core. The inadequacy of the foundation to bear the weight of the structure resulted in its taking a curved section and is further evidence of hasty preparation. The stones forming the external and internal faces are roughly shaped with the hammer and are laid with great irregularity. Where a stone has been found to be too small to fill the space between those adjoining, the workman has not troubled to select a longer one, but has merely filled up the large gaps with mortar. Further, there was in many instances no attempt to get any approach to flatness on the exposed face of the stone, the builders being apparently quite content with procuring an average thickness so as to produce approximately level courses. A comparison with the masonry of the walls of the *Castra* of York reveals the vast difference between the two structures. At the northern fortress the stones are evenly cut and closely and regularly laid, while in the case of Londinium one finds rough, careless workmanship in evidence wherever the wall is laid bare.

Reviewing these facts it is hardly possible to believe that this defence of Londinium came into being except under conditions of great emergency.

The quantities of the different materials and "quantities" required to construct the $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles of curtain wall can be worked out with no great difficulty. Roughly they are as follows :

23,000 cubic yards of excavation for the foundations.
100,000 cubic yards of concrete (including laying of bricks).

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1,000,000 bricks for 11 bonding courses, averaging
18 × 12 × 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

784,000 feet super of coarse dressing of stone for facing
(labour only).

34,000 cubic feet of special plinth stone.

17,000 feet of superior dressing for plinth.

24,000 cubic yards of excavation for the ditch.

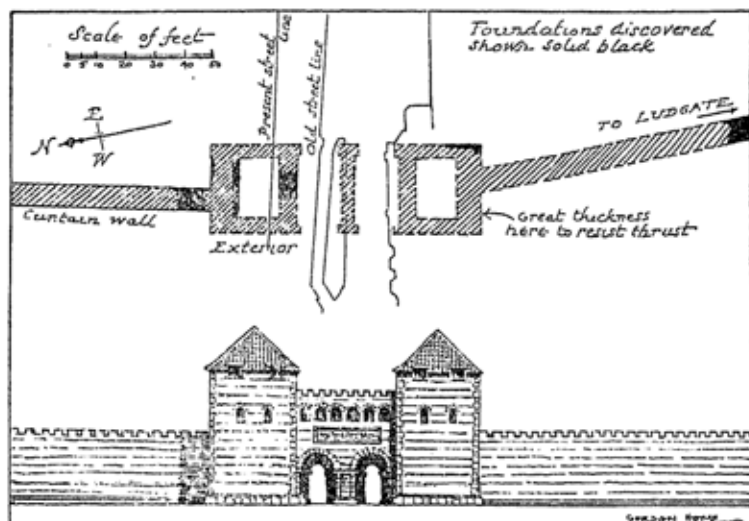
In addition to these quantities there were those required for perhaps as many as from eight to ten main gates and a few posterns—the numbers on the river front are not yet known, only sections of the curtain having so far been discovered between the Tower and the Fleet. The cost of all this work and material, on the basis of wages in 1925, may have been about £400,000.

The position of the wall has been ascertained with certainty on the landward sides except between Ludgate and the river where there is a little doubt. Facing the Thames, as will be clearly seen in the large plan at the end of this book, there is no room for doubt as to the line of the wall, but east of the Wallbrook the discoveries are restricted to a few short lengths.

Commencing at the south-western corner, the great defensive work seems to have passed through Printing House Square, now enclosed by the buildings of *The Times* newspaper, and went a little east of due north to Ludgate. It is probable that this did not represent the original line, for under No. 56 Carter Lane was found a wall which in thickness and other respects agrees with the rest of the landward construction. There appear to be no drawings or records of this section and therefore the matter is just a little in doubt, but as the description given by the builder, who saw and measured the wall laid bare on this site, could scarcely have been invented, there is every reason to think that the original wall sloped in a south-easterly direction

from Ludgate, so that this entry and Newgate to the north form the angles of the western lobe of the original city enceinte which followed the contour of the western hill. Perhaps when the river front was fortified the south-eastern corner was enlarged as shown on the plan.

The curtain wall extending between Ludgate and



CONJECTURAL ELEVATION OF ROMAN NEWGATE.

From the portions of foundations brought to light.

Newgate has been very definitely located, and while no records of bastions exist, there may have been two in this sector. At Newgate have been found portions of the foundations of the Roman structure, and it is a curious fact that the name of this entry into the city should have been so entirely misleading, for here, and nowhere else up to the present time, have the original foundations been discovered.

Two towers, 30 feet square, flanked an opening of

about 35 feet, almost certainly divided into two roadways, each about 15 feet in width. The gate was set at an irregular angle in the wall, the northern tower projecting about 7 feet, while its southern fellow stood out for double that distance. To resist the thrust of the curtain wall, the sides of the towers crossing it were of exceptional thickness—about 9 feet compared with 5 on the other faces. Where the lower parts of the gateway towers have come to light, they show superior workmanship to the main wall. Dr Philip Norman describes the discovery in 1903 of the plinth stones on the inner face of the southern tower, and mentions that all the stones were clamped with iron embedded in lead.

Immediately to the north of Newgate the wall turned eastward in an open curve, and at this point excavation proves that a bastion was subsequently erected. It was especially necessary here, in view of the fact that the wall had sagged very seriously and was leaning outwards at a dangerous angle. This bastion was larger than those hitherto discovered, and its wall was $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, only a foot less than that of the curtain which it supported. Fortunately this notable feature of the great bulwark of Roman London was preserved beneath the General Post Office yard in Giltspur Street, and can be seen if permission be applied for. It is illustrated on page 183.

The wall from this point continues eastward to a short distance beyond Aldersgate, where it turns rather sharply N.N.E., making thereby a re-entrant angle, the purpose of which has puzzled investigators. If the builders had in view the avoidance of the slight hollow, probably somewhat damp owing to the existence of springs in that locality, the deflection of the wall may be explained, for, although several additional yards of construction were entailed, the saving of complications in the making of the foundations was evidently a matter of great importance. The mere fact that the builders

were anxious to avoid even the slightest engineering operation seems to point once more in the direction of haste in construction.

At irregular intervals along the re-entrant angle no fewer than seven bastions have been located, and in addition, close to the N.E. salient, just south of the bastion in Cripplegate Churchyard, there is marked on Ogilby and Morgan's plan, dated 1677, what appears to be a rectangular internal tower larger than the bastions. If this were Roman—unfortunately there is no proof—it might conceivably have been a store for reserve ammunition and other supplies for this section of the defence, since every bastion would have had its proper armament of large and small military engines. However, it is quite possible that this tower was of post-Roman date, similar to that found a little to the north of Ludgate, shown on the large plan.

Along the whole length of the Wall one bastion alone shows above the modern ground level. It stands in the churchyard of Cripplegate, overhung by lofty modern buildings, and perhaps all that is visible to the eye is of mediaeval workmanship. Beneath the surface, however, is the undoubted Roman substructure, set in characteristic pink mortar.

Where the modern Aldersgate Street crosses the wall, stood the third gate, of which no remains have yet been discovered. The north and north-eastern faces of the wall ran from the Cripplegate bastion to Aldgate. It was pierced by Cripplegate and Bishopsgate. In its central sector the wall cut athwart three feeders of the Wallbrook, and, in order to allow for the free flow of the streams, openings were provided in the wall at the necessary points. Two of these have been discovered in the street called London Wall close to Finsbury Circus. The passage of bulky rubbish was guarded against by iron gratings, of which portions have been

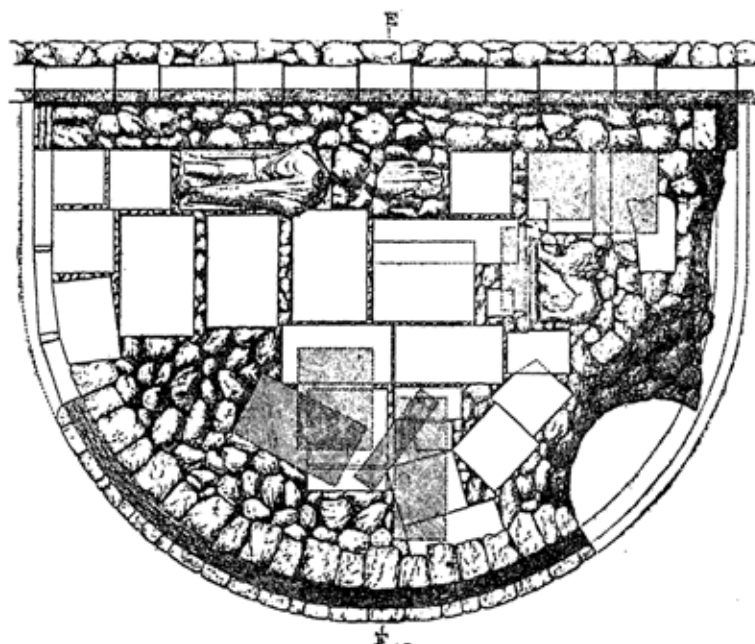
found. It seems probable that there were other openings besides these two at this particular point, irrespective of those undoubtedly necessary elsewhere. So long as the culverts and their gratings were properly cared for, no trouble arose with the streams, but as soon as the general disorder produced neglect, they became choked, and the pent-up waters began to accumulate against the face of the wall until, by the twelfth century, a broad shallow mere lay immediately to the north of the city, between the roads emerging from Bishopsgate and Cripplegate. In course of time this mere naturally became contaminated, and its presence was eventually a danger to health.

On the purely northern front of the Wall only two bastions have been located. One of these just to the west of Moorgate is only inferred from a mass of masonry containing pink cement having been found abutting upon the Wall, the other was located under the foundations of the semi-circular vestry of All Hallows' Church, London Wall. That it was later than the wall itself was proved by the finding of many architectural fragments from other buildings—a feature never discovered in the curtain. Further, the mortar once more was of the characteristic pounded brick variety of the Roman period.

Between Bishopsgate and Aldgate there were five bastions, all of which are either well-authenticated, or have actually been discovered. The most notable is probably that in Camomile Street, which was excavated in 1876. Its special interest is due to the fact that in its construction the fragments of a demolished monument had been worked up. In addition to this there was found a sculptured lion in the act of devouring its prey, much on the same lines as that discovered at Corbridge in 1907, but, although the head is very much worn, the artistry is distinctly superior.

In Goring Street (formerly Castle Street), a little

south-east of Camomile Street, the remains of a bastion were uncovered in 1884, but, despite the momentary enthusiasm at the time, nothing was done to preserve it. Like its companion in Camomile Street, it included many



A PLAN OF ONE OF THE BASTIONS OF THE ROMAN WALL OF LONDINIUM FOUND IN CAMOMILE STREET.

It shows how monuments and buildings were sacrificed to provide materials for the construction of these additions to the wall. E is the curtain wall with its chamfered plinth into which the bastion was not bonded.

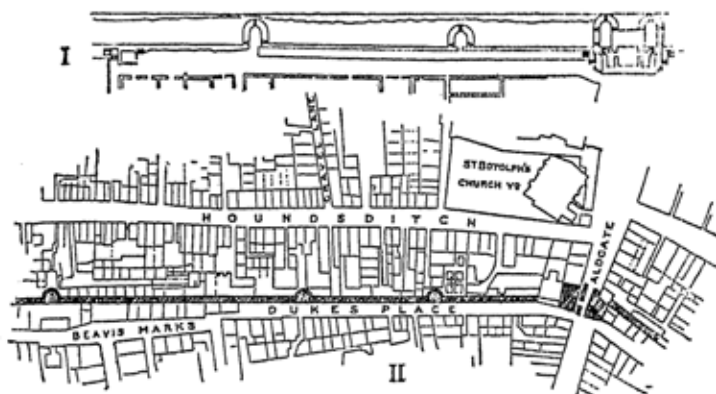
architectural fragments taken from demolished buildings, as well as a sarcophagus.¹

Proceeding south-eastwards along Bevis Marks, a fine fragment of the wall was brought to light in 1880, and associated with it was what seems to have been an extremely important bastion, together with a section of

¹ *Antiquary*, vol. x. 134.

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the city ditch. The contemporary description was most inadequate, for there were several features of unusual interest, including a massive channel of solid stone, leading from the centre of the bastion to the ditch, as well as an earthen counterscarp or "vallum." Such treatment of the ditch not having been discovered or noted elsewhere, the feature is especially informative.



TWO PLANS SHOWING PART OF THE WALL WEST OF ALDGATE.

I. From Holy Trinity Priory Survey in 1592. II. Ogilby and Morgan's map dated 1677.

Among the architectural fragments found in this bastion was part of a column about 9 inches in diameter with a lozenge pattern sculptured on its surface.

Between this Bevis Marks bastion and Aldgate two others are shown on Ogilby and Morgan's plan published in 1677, and, in greater detail, in the Holy Trinity Priory Survey of 1592. These plans appear to show the ordinary Roman form of the bastions. It is suggested that one of them was identical with that drawn by Gough in 1763, but this was very obviously square,¹ and may therefore have been a variant upon the normal rounded bastion, and may perhaps belong to a very late period. It should

¹ *Illustrations of Roman London*, C. R. Smith, p. 16.

be noted that this is on the north-eastern and most threatened face.

Of the Roman gateway at Aldgate, the sixth from Ludgate, no indications have been found. Between Aldgate and the river, the wall takes a direct course almost due south, terminating, as far as actual remains have been seen, in the ruins of the Wardrobe Tower, at a point opposite the south-easterly turret of the great keep, built by William the Conqueror, who does not appear, however, to have destroyed any of the Roman wall; this was, it seems, to be the work of his successor. It is generally considered that this was not the actual termination, and that the Lanthorn Tower of the Inner Bailey occupies the site of the south-eastern corner bastion. The site of a mediaeval postern on Tower Hill may perhaps mark the position of a similar outlet in Roman times, but this is mere surmise. The fact that no road of any consequence left the city south of Aldgate certainly removes the need for any important gateway on this sector.

The surviving portions of the curtain on the eastern front are important, while the position of some of the bastions is uncertain. On the east side of Jewry Street the wall lies beneath the frontages of the houses, and, in 1861, a portion was uncovered, showing that at this point it was founded upon massive piles. There was probably hereabouts a bastion, but careless observation resulted in no definite records being taken. A particularly fine fragment was exposed in 1905, at the junction of Crutched Friars and Jewry Street, which, by the care of the Skinners' Company, has been preserved and built into the basement of the block of offices called Roman Wall House. The interest of this fragment is the fine state of preservation of the inner facing.

A little to the south, the line of the wall is intersected by the railway to Tilbury and Southend. Part of this

sector was destroyed in 1841, and thirty-nine years later, when the railway was widened, other sections were revealed in America Square. At that point indications of two bastions, not far apart, were brought to light, and there was also a small culvert penetrating the wall. These facts seem to indicate the need which existed for a certain amount of buttressing of the wall, here standing on alluvium, which only furnished an unstable foundation.

In the bonded warehouse of Messrs Barber, between the railway and Trinity Square, is the finest existing portion of the wall of London. On various calculations it stands from 25 to 43 feet in height, these differences being perhaps due to different measurements as to the original ground level. Nearly half of the height was the original Roman work, and it is given by Sir William Tite as less than 20 feet, the remainder consisting of mediaeval additions and repairs. It may be mentioned here that the actual parapet walk of the ancient defensive wall of London still exists here, supported in part by the work of the Romano-British builders, reared possibly as far back as the third century.

Between this fine survival and Tower Hill the wall is believed to be fairly continuous, and it is visible in a yard opening from Trinity Square. One sees only the patching of the Middle Ages, containing a good proportion of Roman materials; but in a cellar adjoining a considerable fragment of the actual Roman wall exists, heavily coated with whitewash. At this point there was undoubtedly a bastion containing a number of architectural stone fragments. These appear to have represented the demolished sepulchral monument of a Roman officer named Alpinus Classicianus, and some of them are now in the British Museum. A drawing was made in 1852, by a Mr Fairholt, of the wall and remains of this bastion.

From the Lanthorn Tower of the Inner Bailey of the

Tower of London to the point where it turned northwards towards Ludgate, the Wall, on the river side, followed approximately the line of Lower and Upper Thames Streets, except where it was broken by the Wallbrook. No traces of any gates, posterns, or bastions have been found on this front, and between the Tower and the Wallbrook scarcely half-a-dozen fragments of the curtain wall have been located. In the sector west of the Wallbrook, however, Roach Smith records the discovery¹ of an almost continuous line from Lambeth Hill to Queenhithe. Unlike the landward wall, but like the bastions, it contained a great number of pieces of sculptured stone and marble, suggesting that the Thames front and the bastions were equally built at a time of dire necessity and subsequent to the land defences. The river wall, in spite of the ingredients just mentioned, seems to have been a very solid structure, superior in some ways to the earlier enceinte. Where the subsoil was alluvium the foundation was secured by driving oaken piles closely together on the inner and outer faces, the intervening space being filled with rammed chalk and stone. On this was laid a course of large hewn stones, forming a base for the usual concrete superstructure of ragstone and flint bedded in pounded brick mortar. The bonding was formed in places with roofing tiles as well as brick, again suggesting the demolition of buildings.

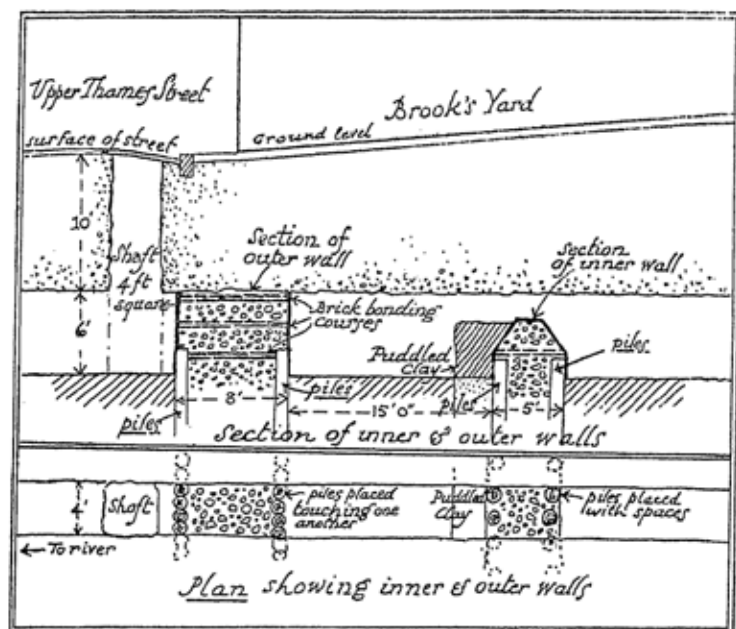
At the foot of Fish Street Hill, where the wall stood upon gravel, the foundation was laid on a bed of logs laid horizontally at right angles to the wall, and held in position by short and strong pointed stakes driven in up to the head.

At Brook's Yard on the north side of Upper Thames Street a remarkable section has recently come to light. Within the outer wall, at a distance of 15 feet, is a second wall built in somewhat the same manner, but

¹ *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 18.

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only 5 feet thick. The careful elaboration of the foundations would indicate that it was intended to be carried to a considerable height. As this inner wall has up to the present time been discovered in this one spot



PLAN AND SECTION OF THE TWO ROMAN WALLS FOUND IN
BROOK'S YARD, UPPER THAMES STREET.

This is part of the river front of the city and appears to be of later date than the landward wall. The thinner internal wall may be a survival of an earlier defence.

Drawn from a plan at the Guildhall Museum.

only, it is obviously unwise to generalise upon it. At a hazard one might suggest that this inner and less substantial wall was of earlier date, and, being considered too weak, was superseded subsequently by a much more powerful outer rampart.

In advance of the whole of the landward wall was carried a ditch of the usual V-shaped Roman section.

This original fosse was rather in the nature of a draining channel than of a formidable obstacle, being only about 10 or 12 feet wide and 6 or 7 feet deep. When the bastions were added they somewhat encroached upon it, necessitating the construction of a new one, which, naturally, in the threatening conditions of the times, was made on more formidable lines. So far as can be judged from one or two points where it has been detected, it was 25 feet wide and 14 feet deep, while at the gates it seems to have been widened out to no less than 75 feet, including a mound or ridge in the centre to carry a single or double drawbridge.

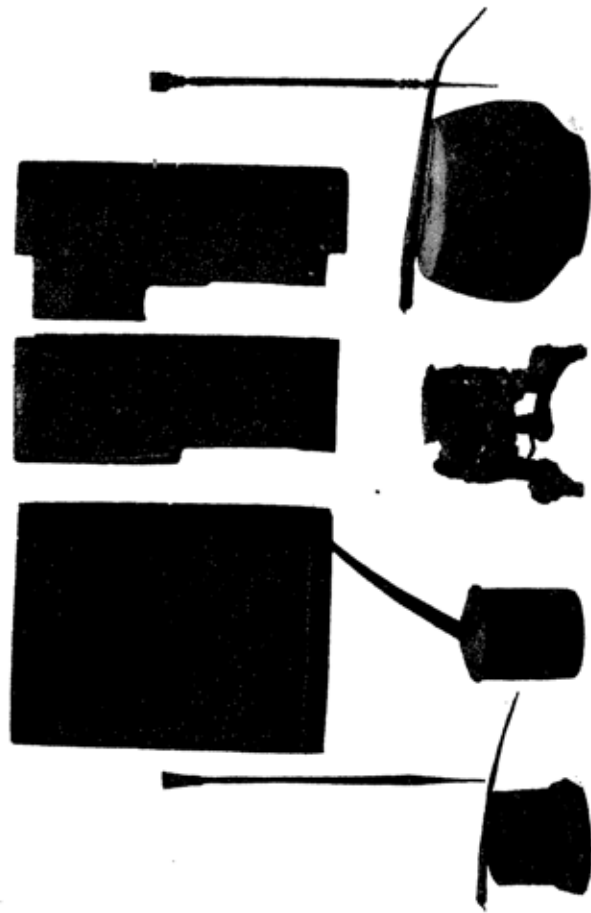
Thus in its last and fully developed stage, the defensive system of Londinium comprised more than three miles of a fairly solid concrete wall, strengthened by some forty or fifty bastions, besides the fortified gateways, and, where the Thames did not afford a natural wet ditch, the wall was further protected by a fosse from 25 to 75 feet broad. Further, there is slight indication of earthworks outside the ditch. So far as the normal engineering skill of the age could achieve protection to a city, Londinium was adequately guarded, and, according to the knowledge at present available, until the ninth century no foreign invader succeeded in penetrating by force those sturdy bulwarks.

CHAPTER X

THE PUBLIC LIFE OF LONDINIUM

IN its earlier period it would seem that Londinium was a city without rank. It is, however, easy to fall into the error of placing too much importance on this fact. To take a notable modern example, Madrid, "the capital and only court" of Spain, has merely the municipal status of an ordinary town (*villa*), while places of no real modern importance, such as Toledo and Ciudad Real, are dignified with the title of city. Therefore, if it were eventually to be proved that Londinium never possessed any distinctive municipal rank, no deduction could be made to suggest that it had an inferior position among the towns of Britain. Corinium, probably the second city in importance of the province, was in the same undefined position, while Camulodunum, which as "Colonia Claudia" had ancient claims to seniority, was certainly in size, population and influence scarcely in the second rank. There were many instances in the Roman Empire of cities of great importance which did not possess any municipal rank, and notable among them was Capua.

It is probable that the earliest form of local government applied to the port on the Thames was that of a *Praefectus*, and if, in view of the peculiar character of Londinium, and especially of its somewhat cosmopolitan population, it had worked smoothly, there may have been no wish to disturb the early arrangements. There were serious difficulties in the way of making the port into a municipium, for it required the presence of a large number of landowners to compose a local senate or *Ordo*. The merchants and bankers, who constituted by far the most important class, would have lacked the leisure to fulfil the largely ornamental and expensive duties of the



ROMAN WRITING MATERIALS FOUND IN LONDON.

The three inkpots on the left are of bronze, that on the right of earthenware. The latter are the more common and are often of the red-glazed ware called Samian. The pens were also found in London. On either side of the wooden tablets, which were coated with a layer of wax, are bronze styli, of which large numbers have been found in London. The pointed end was for writing on the wax and the other for smoothing the surface again.

(Guildhall Museum.)



decuriones or municipal councillors, quite apart from the fact that, important as they were, there was an inherent tendency in the Roman political system to regard the commercial class as of inferior status. Besides all this, when Londinium was rising into importance as one of the great cities of the West, the most flourishing period of the *colonia* and *municipia* was already past. The control of a city's finances by the *ordo* was already showing signs of failure as early as the days of Trajan, and thirty years later the *decuriones* of Tergeste (Trieste) were complaining of impoverishment due to the drain of gratuitous service upon their private resources.¹

Consequently the question of the exact political status of London, in the second century, is not one of very great importance, because, whatever that position might be, the city was for all practical purposes administered by a bureau of paid officials acting under the orders of the Imperial Government. The chief and responsible head of these officials would be the Prefect. On the analogy of a *municipium*, his special department would be the administration of justice, but in a place as large as Londinium the appointment of deputies appears to have been inevitable. Second to him, and in some respects discharging even more important functions, would be the *Curator*, a title which in this case would designate Accountant-Treasurer. This office came into being comparatively early in the Empire owing to the disorder into which inexperienced municipal bodies allowed the finances of their cities to fall. As time went on the appointment of such controlling officials became more and more necessary and frequent, and early in the third century the office became permanent, the *Curator* frequently presiding over the municipal senate. This great change marking the demise of the free local institutions

¹ Mommsen in *C.I.L.*, vol. v. 53.

of earlier times was made probably by Severus I., or possibly by Alexander Severus II. The rank and duties of *Curators* at this time are defined by the great lawyer, Ulpianus.¹ They were appointed directly by the Emperor. It is possible that Londinium had no official senior to the *Curator*, since the financial business of a city of such importance would take first place, and the Prefect who administered justice may have been appointed by him.

Lesser officials controlling the various departments would have been the *Quaestores*, either under that ancient title or a more modern one, who collected taxes and administered branches of the city treasury; the *Aediles*, whose business it was to maintain the streets and public buildings, and probably to exercise some control over private building enterprise; and a *Praefectus Vigilum* or Chief of Police—an officer in such a city of no mean importance. The first holder of the post was appointed by Augustus, mainly on account of the numerous fires which occurred in Rome, and therefore one of his chief and earliest duties was the control of the Fire Brigade, commonly called *Sparteoli* (=bucket bearers). Another of his departments would have been the prison, and such lock-ups as were necessary.

The *Quaestores* and *Praefectus Vigilum* were assisted in their minor duties by a corps of *Viatores*, who acted in capacity of messengers and collectors.

Although, so far as is known, there were no aqueducts on a large scale in Britain, and none have been traced near London, water may well have been led into the city by means of surface conduits, for allowing that an abundance of wells provided to a great extent the requirements of the small consumer, yet for large establishments and baths some other source of supply may have been provided. It is a remarkable fact, however, that some of

¹ *Digest*, Book L. cap. ix. 4.



1. A pair of black ware vases from the Marne Valley found in Moorgate Street (*London Museum*). 2. Drinking cup found near St George's Church, Southwark (*British Museum*). 3. Silver vessels (*British Museum*). 4. Flue tile with elaborate ornamentation (*Guildhall Museum*). 5. Samian vase (form 72) found in Cornhill (*British Museum*).



the springs in London tapped by deep wells yield a very copious supply of water.¹ In any case the maintenance of the city's water supply would, as in all important Roman towns, require the supervision of a *Curator Aquarum*, with his board (*cura*) of minor officials, who kept the register of those entitled to be provided with water.

The supervision of Londinium's food supply would have been in the hands of an official with the functions and very probably of the title of *Praefectus Annonae* or Director of Food Supplies. On the other hand, seeing that Britain's capital stood in a district yielding all the necessities of life in abundance, such an official might have been superfluous. In any case a certain surveyance of markets and the quality of food stuffs, especially at any time of stress, may have been necessary. After the middle of the fourth century shortages of grain supplies were experienced in Britain, perhaps due in part to excessive exports.

High among the officials of the city would have been those whose duties were the conservancy of the Thames. In view of the fact, which geologists have pointed out, that the level changed considerably throughout the latter half of the Roman occupation, there must have been much embanking to organise and foreshore rights to settle. Dredging and general supervision of quays and docks were also a part of the conservators' duties.

The *Portoria*, or customs duties levied upon imports and exports, required a bureau of officials, who may have been independent of the curator of the finances. At first these duties were very low—from 2 to 5 per cent., but incoming oriental luxuries were very heavily taxed, and by the time of Diocletian even the ordinary *Portoria*

¹ The well under Whitehall Court adjoining the War Office supplies the needs of that great building.

were raised to the crippling height of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the effect of which could only be countered by an exceptional wave of prosperity.

Traffic in slaves was under the supervision of an official with the necessary staff of clerks. There would have been a regular place in one of the markets where this human merchandise was stocked, inspected and disposed of.

Hospitals existed throughout the Roman Empire, but if, as is more than probable, one existed in Londinium for the benefit of the officials, civil and military, nothing is known of it. In connection with such an institution, and for the benefit of the city in general, especially the poor, there were *archiatri*, or public physicians. These formed a very important feature of Roman municipal institutions. They numbered from five to ten in accordance with the size of the city, and received a regular salary from the public revenue. Their position was regularised by the Emperor Antoninus Pius. Justinian's code required the doctors to pay special attention to the poor and not concern themselves too exclusively with their wealthy patients.

During the last century and a half of its existence as a Roman city, if not at an earlier period, there were resident in Londinium several of the most important figures in the high administration and perhaps of the defence of the province. The *Praepositus Thesaurorum*, or High Treasurer, undoubtedly had his residence in the city, and although there is no absolute record, the presence of the *Vicarius*, or civil Governor-General, is clear. Further than this, there is some probability of there having been another official, the *Consularis* or *Praeses* of the particular sub-province in which the capital was situated—possibly, but *at present without any certainty at all*, Maxima Caesariensis.

Lastly, towards the close of the fourth century, there probably lived in the city the *Comes Britanniarum*,

the Commander-in-Chief of the Romano-British forces, a fact which would have provided an element of military pomp not hitherto prominent in a capital whose origin and interests had been largely commercial and financial.



ROMAN TESSELLATED PAVEMENT FOUND IN
BUCKLESBURY IN 1869.

It measured 13 feet by about 20, and was found at a depth
of 20 feet.—(*Guildhall Museum.*)

CHAPTER XI

A DESCRIPTION OF LONDINIUM: THE SUBURBS; THE STREETS AND SHOPS; THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS; THE PRIVATE HOUSES; THE FACTORIES; PLACES OF AMUSEMENT; THE BRIDGE; THE TEMPLES; AND THE CEMETERIES

THIS attempt to recreate a picture of Londinium as far as the archæological materials will allow, must be taken as during the greatest period of wealth and size after the recovery from the disaster in 367.

It should, in the first place, be borne in mind throughout, that Londinium grew up from a small and irregularly built settlement and that it does not appear to have undergone any elaborate system of planning such as that which Nero carried out after the Great Fire of Rome. Possibly the more careful plotting of the fragmentary discoveries of walls and pavements in the city may in time suggest the existence of certain well-planned streets. So far none have been recognised with any certainty.

Approaching the city by the great western highway from Wales through Glevum, Corinum and Calleva, the traveller found himself in pleasant suburbs along the high ground sloping to the Thames between Westminster and the Fleet. There were well-built houses in gardens distributed along the gentle declivity, and glancing towards Thorney Island he would see the pale red roofs of the scattered houses which formed the Roman precursor of Westminster. On nearing the site of the Savoy the buildings would become more frequent, for there is in the name Aldwych a link with the Roman age which can endure criticism, apart from the definite archæological evidence from the vicinity in the form of a Roman bath, Roman bricks built into later walls, at

least three burials and a sculptured statue.¹ The name appears to have originated in the English appellation given to the deserted houses of this suburb, Aldwych meaning old village or settlement. The deserted Roman town of Isurium near York was named Aldborough, and other instances could be cited.

Passing along what is now Fleet Street, the new arrival would find the road descending gently to a bridge across a tidal tributary of the Thames, in later times to be known as the River of Wells, and its estuary, after the fifteenth century, to become the Fleet. The slope above this waterway, dotted over perhaps with the evidences of sundry minor occupations, was crowned with the massive western walls of the capital. Immediately above and facing the bridge, the gateway named after the Celtic god Lud stood astride the roadway, its double arches allowing for the inward and outward streams of traffic. Ascending the rise and reaching the gates, there would be transactions with the customs or "octroi" officials, after which the wonders of the great city would be free to the gaze of the new comer. Being in need of a bath he would inquire for the nearest establishment, and it is quite possible that the person of whom the inquiry was made might have been able to point to a building within sight, for there are grounds for believing that there were baths close to Ludgate.

A reference to such a building is found as far back as the year 1667, when Londoners were busy in the work of reconstruction after the Great Fire. A certain Mr Span, "a ancient citizen in Holyday Yard, Creed Lane" [South of Ludgate Hill], found what is described as a Roman aqueduct passing round "a Bath that was built in a round Forme with Nitches at an equal Distance for Seats."² Unfortunately no dimensions are given, but

¹ Found in Drury Lane and now in the London Museum.

² Strype's Edition of Stow's *Survey of London*, vol. ii. Appendix v. 24.

the description appears to indicate a bathing establishment on account of the circular form of the bath. A good parallel to this description is afforded by the circular bath at Aquae Flavianae near Khenchela in Algeria.

The position just within Ludgate is eminently suitable for such a public establishment where the dusty and travel-soiled arrivals in the city could obtain the luxury of a bath immediately after entering the gateway.

The sites of three small and apparently private baths have been located. One was discovered in Cannon Street in 1905, a little over 16 feet below the street level. It was not quite rectangular, being slightly smaller at the end where the steps descended to the water. The dimensions were 10 feet 6 inches by about 6 feet. The yellow brick sides and the floor were covered with a layer of fine water-tight concrete or *opus signinum*. A second bath, 5 feet 8 inches square, was discovered in 1895 at No. 63 Threadneedle Street. Its walls were composed of rough Kentish rag and the floor was like the other covered with *opus signinum*.

In Strand Lane, between St Mary le Strand Church and the Thames, there can be seen a third bath with its sides of red brick closely jointed. Its dimensions are 15 feet 6 inches by about 6 feet 9 inches and the western end is rounded. Water from a perennial spring nearby flows into this bath and is no doubt its original source of supply. Near this site was found, in 1741, a Roman sarcophagus and I have noticed Roman bricks in cellar walls in the vicinity.

The chief streets leading into the heart of the city may have averaged 16 feet in width excluding footways. A section discovered in Eastcheap has that width including its supporting walls. Solid paving would have been the rule in all the main streets and in the lesser ways the

surface may have consisted of rammed flint and gravel. Flanking the chief streets there were most probably more or less continuous frontages separated fairly frequently by narrow passages from 3 to 4 feet in width. The most usual building material then as now was brick, but the use of plaster externally was common and the stucco was frequently coloured, generally a dull red. The ground floors possessed wide arched openings in which were the shops, banks and offices, and the effect as a whole would have resembled in essentials the average country town in Italy. There was great regularity in the windows of the first and other floors, if one may judge but the examples standing to-day in Rome and at Ostia. The height to which buildings were carried in Londinium is not known, but judging from the great thickness of lower walls may in some instances have been considerable. It is not uncommon to find walls 3 feet in thickness—witness the house beneath the Coal Exchange in Lower Thames Street—and such structures would have been capable of carrying four or five floors at least according to modern standards. From the foundations brought to light in the heart of the city,¹ it is abundantly evident that buildings were laid out with almost fantastic irregularity in spite of the fact that some of them possessed walls with foundations about 8 feet in thickness. Therefore, if regularity of frontages be accepted for the streets of certain quarters, the conclusion cannot be avoided that the central area, or ancient nucleus of the city, doubtless for very good reasons, presented an appearance entirely lacking in uniformity. The angles at which houses were constructed in relation to those adjoining, so far as records of foundations exposed have been kept, show an amazing indifference to one another, and the only inference which can be made is that space was very precious, as at the present day, and where it was

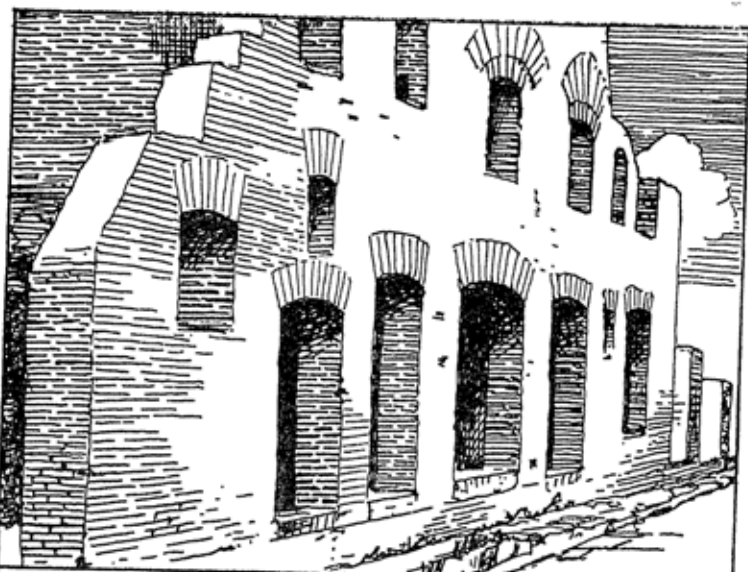
¹ *Archæologia*, vol. lx. 222, for foundations in Cornhill.

desired to make the most of a site individuality reigned supreme.

Late in September 1925 foundations of what appear to be shop fronts were laid bare on the north side of Lombard Street, immediately adjoining Gracechurch Street. From the plan reproduced here, which is made from my own measurements, the reasons for my conjecture can be seen. Regular openings 11 Roman feet in width, with a dividing wall 2 Roman feet thick, running back from the base of a brick pier 5 feet 7 inches wide by 2 feet 6 inches deep, implies the typical arched openings on to the street which I have suggested were usual in the city. It was, however, after I had written the portion of this chapter covering this subject that the discovery here described was made—a piece of corroborative evidence of a most valuable order. It also seems to indicate that the eastern end of Lombard Street follows the course of a Roman thoroughfare, for although the earlier frontage stands some 5 or 6 feet back from the present line it runs parallel with it. It is worth mentioning in this connection that Mr J. E. Price states that in one part of Lombard Street so many fibulae (brooches) were found that it suggested the presence of a jeweller's shop.¹

That an immense amount of rebuilding took place, frequently entailing the superposition of new structures above older foundations has been shown by recent excavations. Thus to recreate with any approach to accuracy any buildings which may be regarded as typical of Roman London is still a somewhat hopeless task. It can, nevertheless, be suggested that the visitor, on approaching the heart of the city, would have found himself gazing upon at least one most impressive structure having walls of a thickness of some 8 feet. The materials were composed of carefully dressed and well-laid ashlar

¹ *Jour. of Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxx. 186; *Arch. Review*, i. 355.

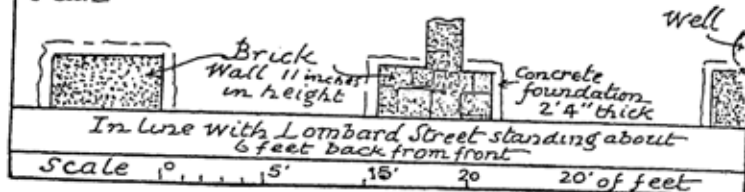


Roman houses of 1st or 2nd Century in the seaport of Ostia.

Suggested elevation.



Plan



PLAN OF FOUNDATIONS IN LOMBARD STREET DISCOVERED IN 1925.

The solidly-built brick bases at regular intervals in line with the present street suggest shop fronts of typical Roman character.

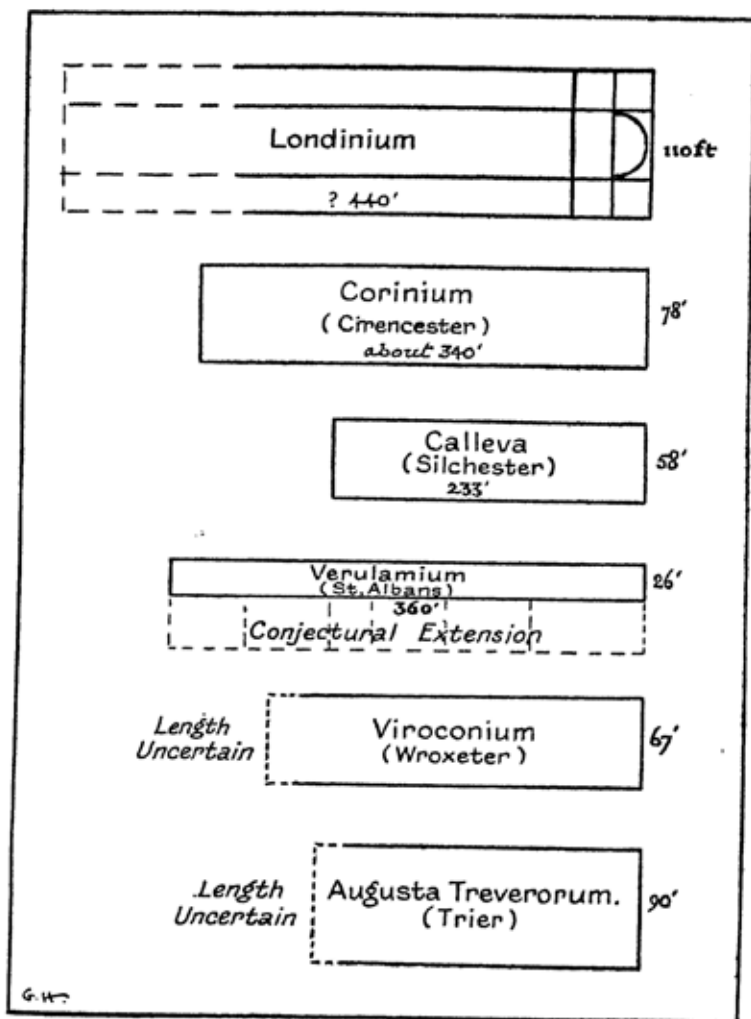
alternating with bands consisting of three or four courses of brick. Such thickness implies a considerable height and the building may, for many reasons, be regarded as the basilica of the capital, or at least one of the chief administrative edifices. An apse at the eastern end of the central member or nave must, judging from the curve which remains, have had a diameter of about 45 feet, and what appears to be the south aisle had an internal width of some 22 feet, so that the total breadth of the conjectural hall would have been about 110 feet.¹

The basilica at Corinum (Cirencester) was 340 long by 78 feet broad, and that of Calleva (Silchester) 233 by 58, and thus their lengths were four times their widths. Upon this calculation, the basilica of Londinium, if the remains under consideration may be so called, measured no less than 440 feet in length internally or only about 50 feet shorter than St Paul's Cathedral.

The columns of the interior, calculated on the evidence of the single granite base now in the Guildhall Museum, which may very likely have belonged to this great civic building, would have been over 40 feet in height including base and capital, and therefore the exterior of the great hall would have shown the total height of 60 feet or more. Seeing that the foundations of the nave arcades are over 12 feet in thickness there can be no reasonable doubt that the walls supported by the columns possessed a clerestory of the usual basilica form to be seen in the early Christian churches of which those at Ravenna are typical.

Of the internal decoration of this great structure some slight evidence may be obtained from the fragments of painted plaster showing green foliage on a red ground which are preserved in the British Museum, and it is

¹ Calculated from the plans by Mr Henry Hodge in *Archæologia*, vol. lxxvi. 226.



COMPARATIVE PLANS OF BRITISH AND GAULISH BASILICAS.

The measurements are given in English feet. If the basilica of Londinium had the same proportions as those of Corinium and Calleva, the length would have been 440 feet, or only 50 feet shorter than St Paul's Cathedral.

The Basilica was a hall of public assembly, generally with a court room attached.

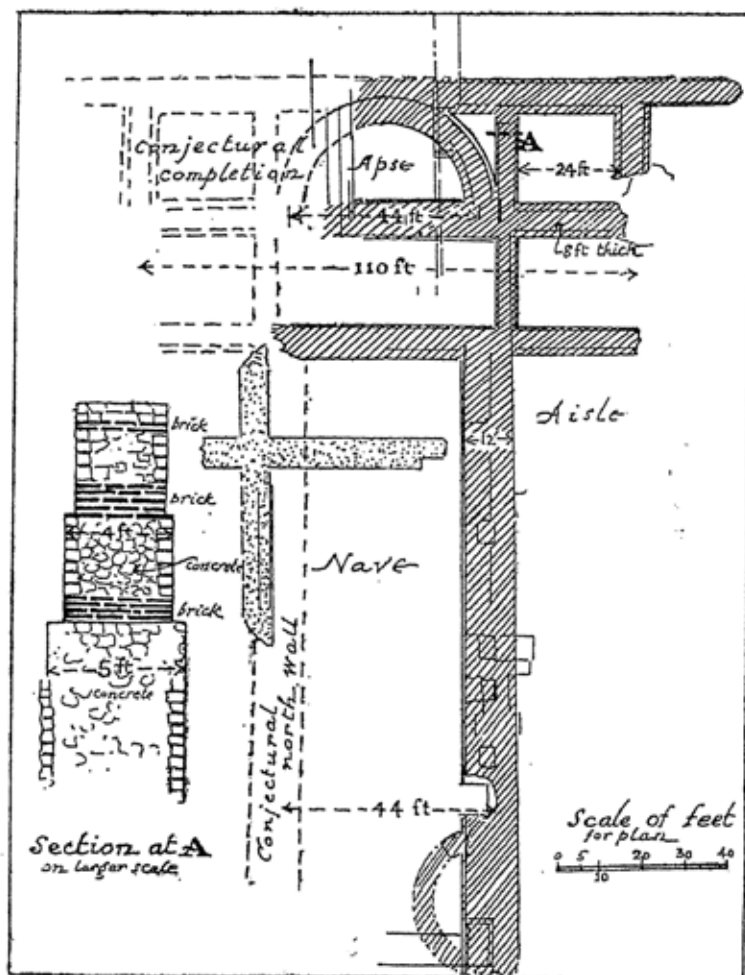
more than probable, from the fragments discovered, that the lower parts of the walls were lined with marble. Mosaic pavements were found in the area of the excavations, and thus indications of almost the whole of the necessary component materials of the great pile have been disinterred in the heart of modern London, where the memory of such a structure had been lost for so many long centuries.

There are only very incomplete indications of any other individual buildings in this most important quarter of the Roman city, but there can be no doubt that the administrative block contained massively-built structures of large dimensions containing a certain amount of stone masonry and a fairly large proportion of embellishment.

A little to the north-east of the site just described there was found in Leadenhall Street (in front of East India House), at a depth of 10 feet, a very elaborate mosaic floor in perfect condition, showing, in a circle in the centre, Bacchus riding on his tiger. The room which this pavement adorned was much larger than the area of the mosaic and was at least 22 feet square, a wide border of plain red tesserae surrounding the design. The discovery of pieces of green porphyry on the same site has been mentioned already,¹ and this would certainly suggest a structure of exceptional richness of treatment. Another fine tessellated pavement, including a representation of a bacchante, was unearthed under the old Excise Office between Bishopsgate Street and Old Broad Street. It was part of an elaborate design 28 feet square, and adjoining was another pavement composed of large square tiles. It is interesting to note that rough and unsuccessful attempts to repair the tessellated pavement had been made.

In Threadneedle Street and adjoining have been found various well-designed mosaic pavements and parts of

¹ See p. 99.



PLAN AND SECTION OF ROMAN FOUNDATIONS UNDER
LEADENHALL MARKET.

There is a strong probability that this building was the Basilica of Londinium, and if so it would have adjoined the chief Forum.

others revealing that this quarter was thickly occupied by well-built houses, and the impression one gathers is that in this area, just to the east of the Wallbrook, were grouped a number of exceptionally well-appointed structures having mosaic pavements of considerable merit. Fragments of plaster show that they were decorated with somewhat elaborate designs of green, blue, black and yellow, while others had flowers and foliage in red, yellow, white and green upon a black background.

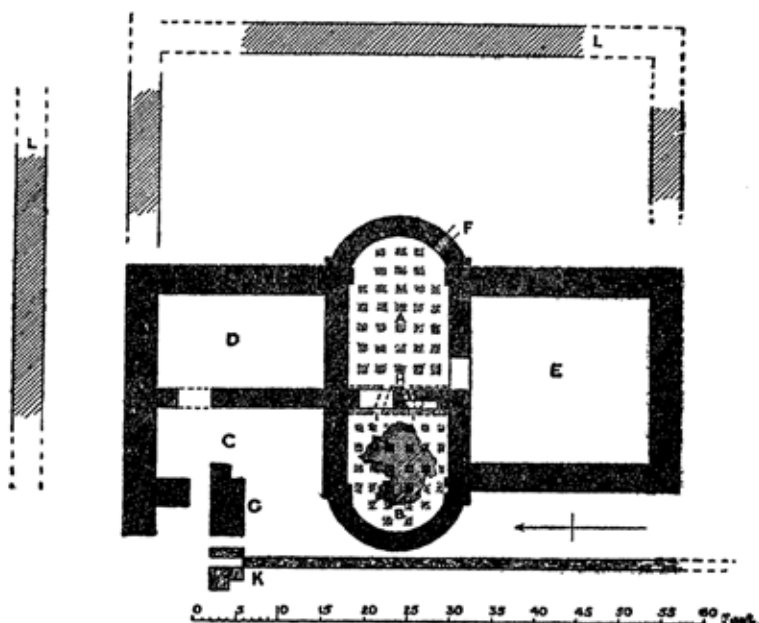
It has already been suggested that a building containing such a fine pavement as that of the Bacchus may have belonged to the Government House, but it may be that others as skilfully designed may have been destroyed in the callous fashion of the coarse materialists of the nineteenth century.

Two buildings of the greatest importance in fourth-century Londinium were the Treasury and the Mint. It is quite likely that they were in close proximity, and there is one very slight indication which hints the possibility of their having been at the south-eastern extremity of the city now occupied by the Tower. This clue was afforded by the discovery on the site of the Board of Ordnance Office in the Tower of the silver ingot illustrated on page 116.

Apart from the bath mentioned as being just inside Ludgate, there are interesting remains of a building beneath the Coal Exchange in Lower Thames Street which has frequently been called a private or public bath.

The site was partially discovered when the Coal Exchange was commenced in 1848; eleven years later more of the ground plan was brought to light, so that it became possible to plot the whole with more or less completeness. A considerable portion was covered by the new buildings which were being erected but the rest is still to be seen in a vault beneath the Exchange.

It is not certain what purpose the structure was designed to fulfil. Although usually described as a bath, there is really no evidence in favour of the hypothesis beyond the fact that the two central rooms possess hypocausts under their floors, indeed the arrangement



PLAN OF ROMAN HOUSE FOUND BENEATH THE COAL EXCHANGE
IN LOWER THAMES STREET.

A and B are the chambers heated by hypocausts.

of the apartments hardly suggests a bathing establishment and it is more probable that the building was a private house, perhaps partly used for purposes of business, being right down in proximity to the quays, and therefore in the heart of the business quarter. That offices should be warmed by hypocausts beneath the floor is not in the least surprising, for any flourishing house would provide its clerical staff with comfortable conditions for the

winter. The warmed rooms are not sunk below the level of those adjoining, and there are no indications of any water supply. These foundations may be the single link which has been preserved between the average business offices of Londinium and those of our own time, and on this account it is a matter of no small satisfaction that they have been preserved. The style of the brickwork with exceedingly thick joints suggests a late period in the Roman occupation, and there are indications from the raising of the floor level that the existing building superseded an earlier one.

Small workshops which were doubtless very numerous may be almost unrecognisable from their foundation plans, but there are one or two spots where factories have revealed themselves. One of these was discovered in 1677 at the north-west corner of St Paul's Cathedral during the excavation of the foundations for Wren's new fanes. It was a quadruple potter's kiln and appears to date back to an early period in the history of Londinium. A certain Mr John Conyers, an apothecary of Fleet Street, who made notes between 1674 and 1677, records that "coffins lay over this loamy kiln, the lowest coffins made of chalk, and this supposed to be about Domitian's time. This kiln was full of ye worst sort of pots, lamps, urns, and not many were saved whole." If Conyers, who might well have discussed the matter with Wren, were approximately correct in his dating, it would seem that the site became a cemetery at some early date in the Roman occupation, and if so the kiln belongs to a period anterior to the Claudian invasion. In any case, there is here evidence of the manufacture of rough pottery in the western parts of Londinium at a very early date indicating that the industry was a well-established local one, and in all probability was carried on until the area was required for other purposes by the growing city.

Another pottery site was discovered underneath the



2



3



4



5



EXAMPLES OF ROMAN GLASS FOUND IN LONDON.

5. The handled carafe was found in Kent, it is given here to show the type represented by No. 1. 4 is a bottle of serpentine glass in very good preservation.

(British and London Museums.)

church of St Mary Woolnoth in King William Street. There were found on that site, in 1724, Roman foundations into which the debris of brick kilns and furnaces had been worked—an indication perhaps of the breaking up of a very early pottery.

The site of a glass factory was discovered in Clement's Lane (King William Street end) in 1840/41. Not only was glass slag and pot glass discovered on the piece of ground, but also a tool which was considered to have been used for the purpose of grass decoration. In addition, the same site yielded a number of large amphorae which, if not fabricated on the spot, may well have been employed for various purposes in the glass factory.

As in every large Roman city, space was devoted to places of amusement, and yet so far the spade of the house-building excavator has provided within the walls no hint as to the whereabouts of theatre, amphitheatre or circus. It is impossible even to find any clue as to which quarter of the city may have possessed any such feature. There is, however, one suggestion which may be a sound one. Londinium, in its process of expansion, must have found its internal spaces of the utmost importance. To abandon any large area for the purposes of amusement where offices, warehouses, private residences and shops required all the available space, would have been anathema to the commercial mind which was, and always has been paramount in London. Therefore it may be that there was then, as now, a tendency to relegate places of amusement to the outskirts of the city. The nearest and most convenient spot appears to me to be the suburb across the water and, in that case, it would have been towards the bridge that the inhabitants turned their faces when in holiday mood. Some archæological evidence in support of this theory is found in the discovery made in Southwark¹ of a gladiator's trident and dagger, both of

¹ Stoney Street, west of the Borough Market, in the year 1865.

which are illustrated in these pages.¹ It may be that the custom of using the transriverine suburb for purposes of public amusement, from dramatic entertainments to cock-fights and bear-baiting, may have continued in London from the Roman epoch. That there are no traces of any amphitheatre need surprise no one, in view of the fact that, wealthy as Londinium became, it is scarcely conceivable that the idea of bringing to the city the vast quantities of stone required for such a structure were ever contemplated by the most spendthrift set of municipal officials. If, therefore, a large amphitheatre stood in Southwark, it may be accepted that its materials consisted at the most of brick and timber with perhaps a certain amount of iron and bronze. Possibly the foundations were of concrete and brick, and the tiers of seats entirely of wood.

The great timber bridge of the capital, whose date has been discussed elsewhere, was doubtless in some ways one of the most notable and picturesque features of Londinium, thronged as it must have been at all times by people representing every class and a large percentage of the many races embraced by the frontiers of the Empire. The massive framework of the wooden piers reflected in the waters of the Thames was, with great probability heavily painted, and there may, in such a permanent structure, have been elements of ornament in bronze. At the northern end, after the defensive wall was built, there would have stood an imposing gateway with double arches. It is probable that this was the most important and impressive in its architecture of all the entries to Roman London, and yet it has totally disappeared together with any barbican which may have stood at the southern end of the bridge.

Viewed from this approach, the scene must always have been full of life and activity with a variety of ships and

¹ See Frontispiece.

small boats forming an attractive picture of waterside life. There were large vessels from Gaul and Spain and others from the Mediterranean; smaller coasting craft with and without oars; fishing boats in great numbers, for the river literally swarmed with edible fish, and skiffs and wherries innumerable. At times the Pool undoubtedly saw the long and graceful lines of a war galley which had come up the Thames on some special mission, perhaps to convey to the capital an important official or officer, or the Governor himself.

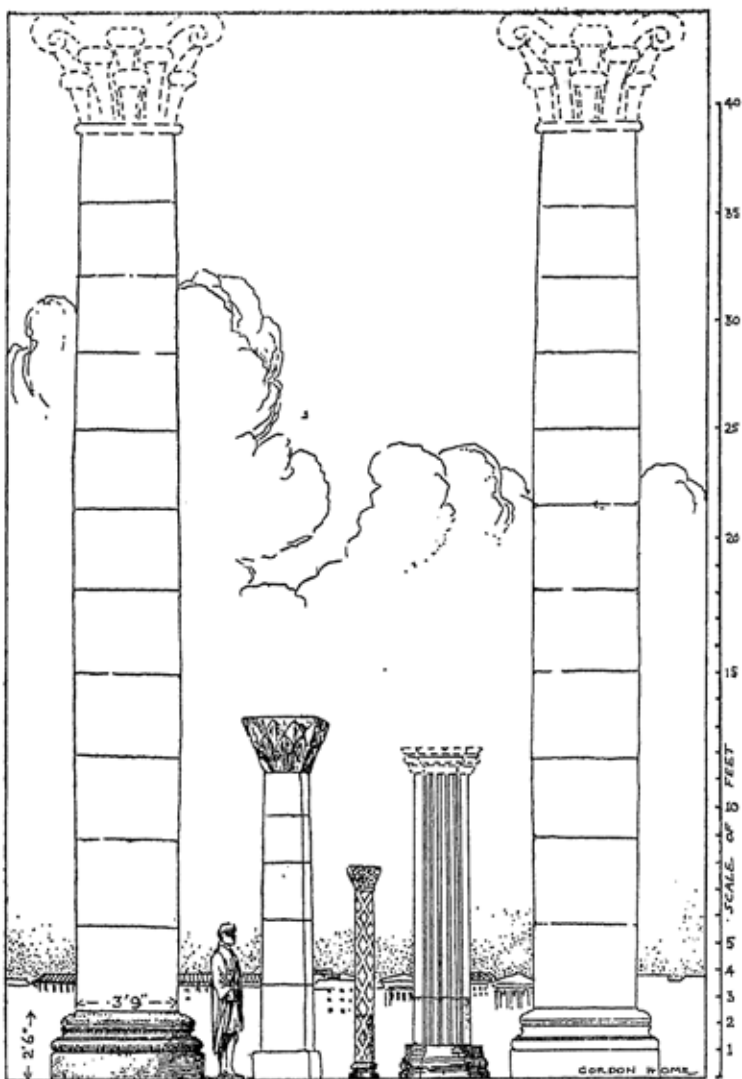
Interspersed here and there among the public buildings, business and private houses stood the temples of the city, whose sites have been so inadequately determined. That the more important, if not all, stood up conspicuously upon a massive podium is almost certain, and that their porticoes were composed of stone columns supporting the usual type of pediment, is not to be doubted. A certain number of bases and capitals of columns have been discovered and also parts of stone pilasters and cornices, but how many of these (if any) belonged to temples cannot be discovered. It might be an occasional feature of the street to witness the passage of a garlanded bull destined to be sacrificed on the altar of Jupiter the Preserver or Neptune the Ruler of the Sea, the gift, perhaps, of an officer who had escaped the perils of a northern campaign or of a sea captain who had brought a valuable cargo safely past the Pillars of Hercules and the uneasy waters of the Bay of Biscay.

During the greater part of the life of Roman London, one would have had to look far to discover a Christian church recognisable as such, if the poverty of the body which has already been mentioned were reflected in its buildings. Perhaps in a byway among shops and small private houses there may have been an obscure doorway, behind which the rites of the unpopular faith were performed with secrecy and in some fear before a small,

but fervid, congregation. In later times, in the fourth century at any rate, some obvious site would have been obtained for a church of the then established religion, but it may be that no such sites were then obtainable except at a prohibitive cost, and therefore, as at Timgad and elsewhere, the new churches were built outside the city proper.

The custom of burying the dead at the sides of the main roads outside cities was usual in Britain as in other Roman provinces, and it is therefore not surprising to find that the cemeteries of Londinium appear to have been concentrated in three groups on the western, northern and eastern thoroughfares as they emerged from the city. On the northern loop of the western outlet the burials are most thickly grouped, and also to the north-west of St Paul's, and the second most important cemetery appears to have been on the northern road leading to Lindum, Eboracum and the Wall of Hadrian. In Southwark there was another cemetery, making a fourth fairly well-defined area of burials.

An interesting fact, which a study of the positions of the interments brings out, is the gradual pushing out of the encircling necropolis by the expansion of the city of the living. The fact that only one burial has been discovered in the area immediately east of the Wallbrook gives a clue as to the earliest inhabited nucleus, this portion of the city being more or less surrounded by a semicircle of burials all within the area which was eventually walled. Taking the closeness of the interments to the north and west of St Paul's as a guide, there is a fairly definite indication that the western hill was built upon latest, for otherwise such an extensive cemetery cannot be explained. While there was, doubtless, a tendency for the expansion of the city to cease on the slope down to the Fleet, yet it is probable that houses soon began to appear on the sunny slopes



SUGGESTED RECONSTRUCTION OF ROMAN COLUMNS FROM BASES AND CAPITALS IN THE GUILDHALL MUSEUM.

The base of red granite supported a column 3 feet 9 inches in diameter. Expert geological opinion states that this granite is of the variety found at Shap in Westmoreland—270 miles from London. The base weighs about four tons and its transport to the capital would have taken a considerable time. The column with a raised lozenge pattern was found in a bastion in Bevis Marks.

now occupied by the Temple, where also a piece of ground may at an early date have become a public park. The fact that no burials have been found between Ludgate and Howard Street (east of Somerset House) points to the probability that this attractive quarter was reserved for other purposes, despite the fact that it was upon one of the important roads emerging from the city.

Further corroboration of the growth of the town from a nucleus situated in the angle east of the Wallbrook is provided by the fact that the Claudian and earlier coins found in the city are almost entirely restricted to this area. Still more evidence, compiled by Mr Frank Lambert and Mr Donald Atkinson, gives support to the same theory.¹ By plotting out the positions of the finds of Samian pottery of sufficiently datable types they have shown that a form which went out of use between A.D. 80 and 90 is also restricted, with few exceptions, to the same area. The later types are seen to have been found gradually spreading over the whole city.

The forms of interment are both burnt and unburnt. Up to about A.D. 250, cremation, the ancient practice of the Greeks and Romans, was the most prevalent method of the disposal of the dead. It must not, however, be accepted as by any means universal, for it is well known how some of the great Roman families, including the renowned Corneli Scipiones, were always according to their own domestic religious rites buried instead of burnt. Of the cremated remains, a great many examples have been found, some of the urns having been placed in stone sarcophagi.² In Warwick Square, north of Paternoster Row, were found a number of different types of burial including a very fine urn of grey-green porphyry (or possibly serpentine),³ together with others in which

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. lxvi. 269-74.

² An example of this type was found under Liverpool Street Station.

³ In the British Museum.

the incinerated remains were placed in glass or leaden receptacles.

The stone sarcophagi, of which a fair number have been found in London, are of all types ranging from the elaborately sculptured examples discovered in Haydon Square (Minories) and at Clapton, to the less pretentious example exhumed at Westminster Abbey and the roughly shaped variety without inscriptions from other sites. Some of these stone sarcophagi enclosed a leaden coffin usually ornamented with a beaded and scallop shell design. Good examples of these are preserved in the British Museum.

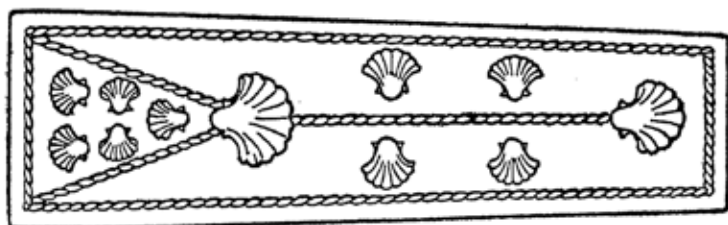
In some instances the square glass ossuaries were found enclosed in cubical oak chests with earthenware lids. This class is unusual. Numbers of interments closely resembled the popular methods of to-day, especially those which belong to a date later than 250. These wooden coffins are sometimes of simple type and others are more elaborate, being banded with iron.¹ Another wooden coffin containing a skeleton found in Smithfield Market is remarkable for the lateness of its date, for in it was a labarum coin of Gratianus I. (375-383). The common form of tile grave, in which roofing tiles are placed tentwise over the remains, has been frequently found in London.

The funeral monuments, apart from sarcophagi, number at least twenty. In some cases the inscriptions have disappeared, and in at least two instances the monuments were lost subsequent to discovery. The inscriptions are given in full in the Appendix. If they are carefully examined, it will be found that out of some nineteen inscriptions, which may be classified as sepulchral, four are in Greek characters, and otherwise show convincing evidence that the persons commemorated came from the Hellenistic portion of the Roman Empire,

¹ An example of this type was found in the line of Houndsditch.

while two more inscriptions bear indubitable Greek names. In other words, nearly a third of the inscriptions of Londinium refer to Greeks, and this fact illumines in some degree the question of how far these pioneers of banking and trading were represented in the capital of Roman Britain.

The tombstone of a gladiator found in Tottenham Court Road is one of the four bearing Greek inscriptions. It furnishes a reminder that the ranks of that dangerous profession were partly recruited from Greek-speaking peoples in the Balkans and Asia Minor.



LEADEN COFFIN LID FOUND IN BATTERSEA FIELDS IN 1794
AT A DEPTH OF TWO FEET.

The memory of this gladiator was perpetuated by his wife, Antonia Martiala, who put up the monument to his memory.

Another highly interesting inscription is that of Grata, the daughter of Dagobitus, which name can hardly be other than the Latinised form of the Frankish-German Dagobert, and, in that case, it must date from a period after 270, when the Germanic element was settling among and intermarrying with the older peoples of the Empire.

Of the remaining inscriptions the majority are those of soldiers, or persons connected with the army. The three legions longest in Britain are all represented. Of Legio XX, "Valeria Victrix," whose base was at Deva

(Chester), there is one to a soldier named Julius Valius or Valerius, who died at the age of forty years, while another is to some one whose rank may have been centurion. Of Legio VI, "Victrix," stationed at Eboracum, there is the tombstone of a soldier named Flavius Agricola, who lived to the age of forty-two, and was mourned as a husband without compare by his widow Albia Faustina. This name indicates that the period of the monument was after 138, when Faustina I. was Empress. Legio II, "Augusta," is represented by a "speculator" or mounted scout, whose name was Celsus, and with him are associated three other members of the legion who erected the tombstone to his memory. A second monument to a member of this legion is that of Vivius Marcianus, erected by his widow, Januaria Martina. This may be somewhat late in the Roman period.

As a whole, it may be taken that rather more than half of the Latin inscriptions are of the pre-Antonine period, or roughly before A.D. 150, while the rest seem to be spread out through the succeeding two centuries.

It is notable that the two elaborately sculptured sarcophagi found in and close to London suggest the later period of Roman dominion in Britain, in fact that from Haydon Square (Minories) shows characteristics which might belong to the end of the fourth or early in the fifth century. That from Clapton, preserved in the Guildhall, does not appear to be so characteristically of the later period. The inscription under the medallion is almost effaced, and only the third and lowest line can be deciphered with any certainty. A recent attempt to make words out of the first two lines seems based mainly on imagination.¹ The arrangement of the altar-shaped panel beneath the medallion portrait in the centre of the

¹ *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. xii. 281.

fluted front of the sarcophagus is very pleasing, and the pose of the female bust is gracious and skilfully executed. For general quality of workmanship it ranks with the Mithraic sculpture and the monument found in the Camomile Street bastion, both of which are illustrated in these pages.

The sarcophagus of Valerius Amandinus found at Westminster Abbey, and preserved in the entrance to the Chapter House, bears a much more simple design than



STONE SARCOPHAGUS OF VALERIUS AMANDINUS FOUND NORTH-WEST OF THE NORTH TRANSEPT OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

The lid bears a raised cross on its surface and is not Roman.

those described above, but it may perhaps belong to as late a period as either of them.

Of uninscribed monuments the most important is that which was found broken up in a bastion of the defensive wall in Camomile Street. It shows the figure of an officer wearing a sword on his right hip and carrying tablets in his left hand. His right arm would appear to have been raised, but for what purpose it is impossible to say. He is wearing the *paenula* or buttoned cloak and a fairly short tunic of the military type. Mr J. E. Price, who wrote at great length on the subject in 1880,¹

¹ "On a bastion of London Wall," John Edward Price.



A RESTORATION OF A ROMAN MONUMENT, THE FRAGMENTS OF WHICH (DRAWN WITH SOLID LINES) WERE DISCOVERED IN A BASTION OF THE WALL IN CAMOMILE STREET IN 1876.

It has been suggested that the figure represents a standard-bearer, but it may equally well portray a retired officer who held a high civil post.

decided that the figure was that of a *signifer* or standard-bearer. It is possible, however, that the monument, which gives the statue a mixture of civil and military attire, commemorates an officer who, on the completion of his service, retired to Londinium, where he held some civil post, perhaps as important as that of prefect of the city.

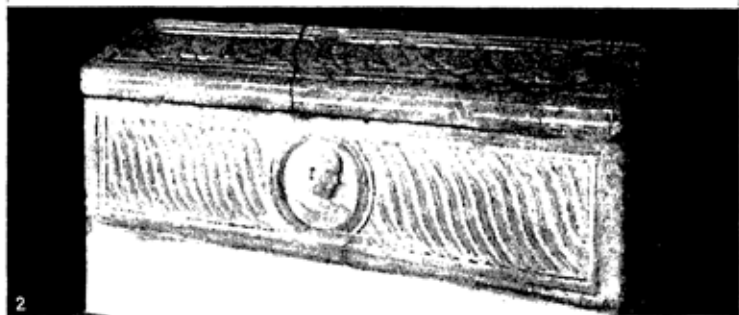
A small monumental slab about two feet in height bears the representation, in a sunk panel, of a man wearing a toga which he is holding together with his left hand while by him stands a small child—apparently a boy. There being no inscription it is impossible to determine the date of this simple little monument, but, if the cloak be really a toga, it would suggest an early date, in view of the fact that the historic garment was going out of fashion by the end of the first century A.D. There can be no doubt that the cemeteries of Londinium were prolific in this simple type of memorial, for it is common to nearly all the Roman cities of the West, and their comparative rarity in London is doubtless due to their value as paving and building stone.

A sculptured figure discovered during excavations in Drury Lane and now in the London Museum, shows the representation of a man leaning, apparently in thought, against a support with his head resting on his bent left arm, the elbow of which is supported by the right hand. The attitude is approximately that of the familiar statue of Shakespeare in Leicester Square. It has been suggested that this figure is Mithraic, but a close study of the torch-bearers (Cautes and Cautopates) has led me to reject the idea.

London has yielded more inscriptions and monuments than any other site¹ in Britain, and this in spite of the

¹ Even at Bath (Aquae Sulis), where, on account of its hot springs, so many went in search of health and died, the number of inscriptions does not reach that of London.

A complete list is given in the Appendix.



ROMAN SEPULCHRAL OBJECTS FOUND IN LONDON.

1. Cinerary urns of lead, porphyry and glass—Warwick Square, E.C. (*British Museum*).
2. Stone Sarcophagus with medallion portrait. It was found in Haydon Square, Minorities, and contained in a leaden coffin the skeleton of a male child; with it was found a coin of Valens (364-378) (*British Museum*).
3. Sculptured memorial slab of a man wearing a toga. The inscription in Greek is illegible except for the last word, which is "farewell" (*British Museum*).
4. Uninscribed memorial in Guildhall Museum showing a man in a toga, and a child.



almost universal indifference displayed towards these relics of a mighty past until comparatively recent years. This fact may be added to those already cited as proving the unchallenged pre-eminence of Londinium among the cities of Roman Britain.



TWO GOURD-SHAPED VESSELS DISCOVERED IN LONDON.

On the left: found 15 feet below the modern surface under the Phoenix Assurance Company's Office on the S.W. side of King William Street. On the right: formerly in the late Mr William Ransom's collection of Roman objects found in London and now in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge.

This type of vessel is still in use in Catalonia.

CHAPTER XII

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN ROMAN LONDON

FROM the earliest years of its Romanisation Londinium possessed temples. This can be stated without hesitation, for it was impossible for any town possessing Roman citizens to fail to erect structures to the worship of their gods. As the city grew in wealth the size and elaboration of its temples advanced with it, yet so slight is the archæological material so far collected from the many excavations for building purposes in the last hundred years that no single site can be at all definitely located.

Epigraphy gives evidence for a temple to the Mother Goddesses; another to the glory of an emperor or emperors; and a third, perhaps in Southwark, to Isis. Sculptured fragments add to these three evidence for there having been temples to Diana, the Mother Goddesses, Jupiter and Juno, a river god, Bona Fortuna, and Mithras. In addition a number of bronze statuettes have been found representing several members of the Romano-Hellenic pantheon or the worship of virtues, which was a notable and inspiring feature of the Roman State religion at its best. Besides these there are the usual type of figurines representing the *lares* and *penates* of the household, and finally there are portable altars. Here the brief archæological list terminates, and until further discoveries are made, it is only possible to review in detail the small amount of information concerning each, and from the result to form, if possible, a somewhat vague idea of the pagan religious organisation of Londinium.

The worship with regard to which the archæological evidence is the least scanty is that of Deae Matres—the Mother Goddesses. This adoration of the Three Mothers was of great antiquity. Plutarch, who had

religious antiquarian tendencies, says that it was Cretan in origin, in fact traces of the worship of a mother goddess have been found at Knossos and in Asia Minor. In Gaul and Britain there was a development of the idea into the form of a trinity usually associated with the name of a people or tribe. There are, for example, found in Gaul dedications to the *Matres Treveri*. At Winchester Roach Smith mentions one to the Italian, German, Gallic and British Mothers, at York there is an altar to the united Mothers of Africa, Italy and Gaul, while at Lyons there is a dedication to The Augustan Mothers.

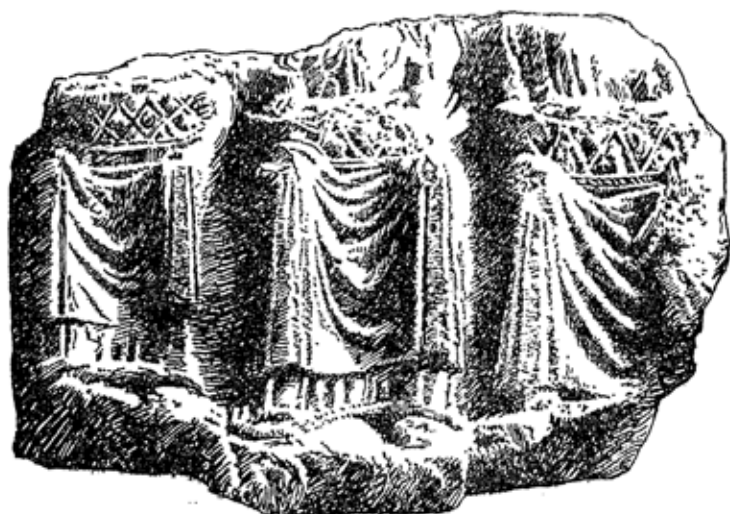
Two indications¹ of this worship have come to light in London. The most important in size was found in Hart Street, Crutched Friars, in 1837. It is typical of the treatment of the most precious relics of Roman London at that time that this sculptured stone, when brought to light during the excavation of a sewer, was for some time in the city stoneyard, not only neglected, but in daily danger of being broken up.² Further, although it lay among the obvious ruins of a Roman building, no attempt was made to search for the missing portions of the group or other objects connected with it. Beneath Hart Street to-day, therefore, it may be inferred that the means of throwing further light on the question of this particular form of worship remains buried. It is at least probable that in this portion of Londinium there stood a temple of a once popular and widespread cult.

The second indication of this worship is in the form

¹ Roach Smith mentions what he conceived to be a third in which the three figures are standing, but they appear to me, from the illustration which he gives in his *Illustrations of Roman London*, Pl. VI. fig. 1, to be so unlike any other representations of the Mother Goddesses, being shown empty-handed, that I question the identification.

² *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i. 138.

of an inscription on a small piece of moulded stone, 15½ inches in length, found in Budge Row on the west side of the Wallbrook. It is as follows: MATR[IBVS] VICINIA DE SVO RES[TITVIT], which may be interpreted as "Vicinia restored the shrine to the Mothers at her own expense." Unfortunately the precise pro-



DEAE MATRES, FROM HART STREET CRUTCHED FRIARS.

venance in London of this important little piece of stone is not recorded.

A more purely Roman cult, that of the Glory of the Emperor (Numen Augusti), was diffused widely throughout the Empire, and evidence as to its prevalence in Londinium was found in June 1850 in Nicholas Lane. This piece of inscribed stone was also accidentally thrown up when a sewer was in course of construction. Concerning the circumstances of this important discovery Roach Smith says: "It was found at a depth of between 11 and 12 feet, lying close to a wall two feet in width.

There was every reason to believe that other stones, having the remainder of the inscription were not far from the one extricated ; but it was impossible to induce either the contractor . . . or the ' City Authorities ' to countenance the slightest search."¹ The stone was nearly three feet in length and evidently formed only a small part of the original dedicatory tablet. From this circumstance, and from the large size and good quality of the letters (6 inches high), it may be inferred that the structure to which it belonged was of considerable pretensions and importance. From the position of its discovery it would appear that the building stood in the very heart of the city. The letters on the portion of the tablet discovered were :

NVMC
PROV
BRITA

The stone, which seems to have been subsequently stolen from the Guildhall, was not broken, and therefore formed one of the component parts of a composite whole. A most reasonable reconstruction of the three lines on the upper stones would read :

NVMCLAVG [Numini Claudii Augusti]
PROVINCIA [Provincia]
BRITANNIAE [Britannia]

that is, "To the glory of Claudius Augustus the Province of Britain." If correct, this dedication has a quite exceptional interest. It indicates that in the early years after the Claudian Conquest a temple of considerable architectural pretensions was erected in the central portion of the city. The excellence of the lettering, as shown in the drawing preserved in the British Museum,

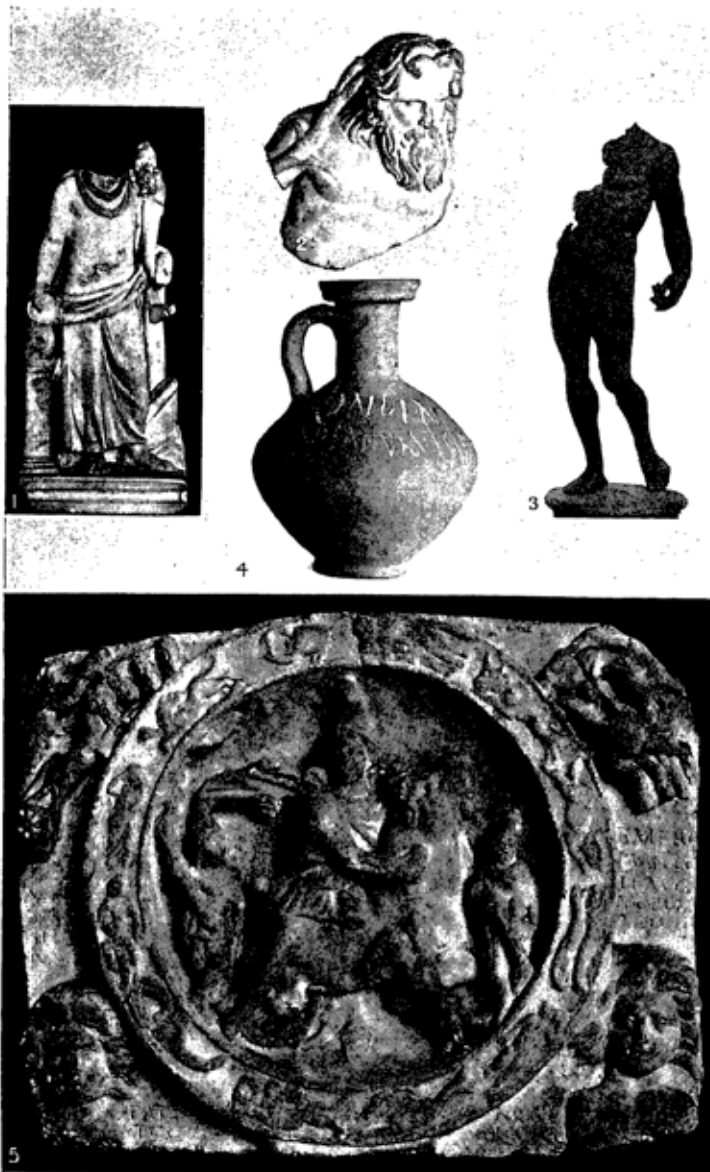
¹ *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 29.

supports the theory of an early date, certainly not later than the middle of the second century. Hübner considers it to belong to the end of the first century. It is somewhat improbable that a temple to the glory of Claudius would have been erected after his death, and on this supposition it may be accepted that it was founded in his honour between A.D. 43 and 54. What was the fate of the building when Boudicca and her followers sacked the town, cannot be known until the site has been discovered and excavated, but it is possible that it escaped entire destruction, for the British host was in haste to pursue Paulinus, and little time would have been available for laborious demolition. In any case the building would have been restored even if badly damaged by fire.

The finest relic of any religious cult so far discovered in London is the Mithraic relief found (without absolute certainty¹) in Bond Court, Wallbrook, in 1889, at a depth of 20 feet. Within a circle, adorned by the twelve signs of the zodiac, appears Mithras, with cloak flying out from his shoulders, slaying the bull, and attended by the two torch-bearers symbolising life and death, while beneath are the dog, the crab or scorpion, the serpent and basket. Without the circle, in the four corners of the slab, are shown the Sun in a four-horse chariot, the Moon in a chariot drawn by oxen, a bearded head and another, apparently a female, with flowing locks. It is suggested that the last two represent deities of the wind.

This sculpture was dedicated in fulfilment of a vow by Ulpius Silvanus, a retired soldier of Legio II, and from the quality of the work it may be inferred that he

¹ The stone came into the possession of the late Mr William Ransom, but he did not witness its discovery. It is not however doubted that the general details of the discovery which are associated with this sculpture, and two others in marble representing a river god and Bona Fortuna, are correct.



RELICS OF THE RELIGION OF ROMAN LONDON.

1, 2, and 5 found together near Wallbrook (*now in London Museum*). 1. A marble figure with cornucopia—perhaps Bona Fortuna. 2. Head of a river god. 3. Bronze statuette of (?) Mercury (or Jupiter) found in the Thames at London Bridge in 1837 (*British Museum*). 4. A jug found in Southwark, inscribed "Londini ad fanum Isidis" (*London Museum*). 5. Mithraic sculptured relief (for inscription see appendix).

held at least non-commissioned rank. It is a mere coincidence that the badge of this legion, *i.e.* the Capricorn, appears in the circle of the signs of the zodiac. The name of the donor indicates a date in the second century.

Mithraism, with its high ideals of duty and self-sacrifice, was essentially the cult of the army, and seeing that Londinium, so far as is known, had no garrison, except for the guards of honour for high officials, the question might be asked how a temple of this deity came to exist in the capital. The only answer is that there was not improbably a considerable element of retired military men who, after long and hard service in the frontier camps, were only too keen upon ending their days as pensioned veterans amid the attractions and comforts of Londinium. Mithraic temples were almost invariably subterranean, in imitation of the cave sanctuaries in Asia, where the cult originated. Another fact in association with the belief which led to the making of underground shrines, was the legend of Mithras having chased the sacred bull into a cavern before he slew it. It is just possible, if the spot where this sculptured stone was found be correctly recorded, that the Mithraeum to which it belonged was excavated in the slope down to the Wallbrook.

The only clue to there having been a temple dedicated to Isis in the southern suburb is an inscription or graffito in cursive writing on a jug unearthed in Southwark. The wording is *LONDINI AD FANVM ISIDIS*=At Londinium by the Temple of Isis. Although it may be argued that a vessel of this small character (it is illustrated facing page 214) might have been brought to Southwark from any part of the city, and is therefore not necessarily to be associated with the actual site of the temple, yet this suburb is eminently the place where one would expect to find the shrine of such a form of worship. The transpontine suburb would naturally have been the

abode of temporary cosmopolitan residents, among whom Isis was likely to find her most numerous votaries. Secondly, although the cult had exalted ideals and also ascetic practices, it was for long regarded with considerable suspicion by the Roman Government as being associated with disreputable orgies. It was again and again suppressed at Rome, and it would be natural to find the Temple of Isis in the detached quarter, which retained until the Tudor period a somewhat disreputable character, playhouses, stews and the cheapest form of lodging being this suburb's characteristic.

Another discovery of a religious character made in Southwark was a double head in stone resembling a Janus, but in this case one face was male and the other female. The male head had ram's horns and a laurel wreath, and the goddess was wearing a sphenone in her hair. The sculpture may have represented (it has been lost) Jupiter and Juno, or possibly a deified emperor and empress. The horns seem to indicate the combination of Zeus with Amen-Ra, or, as the Graeco-Romans called him, Jupiter-Ammon. In that case, the twin heads may be those of Hadrian and Vibia Sabina, who made a tour up the Nile to Thebes in 130.

Despite the fact that most of the pagan cults disappeared somewhat passively in face of the oncoming of Christianity, including even Mithraism with its high ideals, yet the worship of Isis survived, even in Italy, until well into the fifth century.

Ever since the days of Henry III. (*i.e.* 1220) a tradition has been current that a temple of Diana stood on or near the site of St Paul's Cathedral during the Roman period. Wren was a sceptic¹ in regard to this idea, for he discovered nothing in the course of his extensive excavations for the new cathedral which would justify such a belief—at least for a Roman temple within the area of

¹ *Parentalia*, pp. 265-7.

the cathedral site. The great architect's opinion, however, in no way invalidates the possibility of a temple dedicated to the huntress goddess in the immediate neighbourhood, and there is certain archæological evidence worthy of careful consideration. Summarised, it is as follows :—

1. A stone altar to Diana, 2½ feet high, found 15 feet below the surface, and built into the foundations of the Goldsmiths' Hall, in Foster Lane (N.E. of St Paul's), when the old hall was rebuilt in 1830.
2. In association with the altar above mentioned were masses of stonework so admirably cemented that they had the consistency of rock, and had to be broken up with the help of gunpowder. The thickness of these walls is given as 2 feet.
3. A bronze statuette of Diana, 2½ inches high, was found between the Deanery of St Paul's and Blackfriars, *i.e.* S.W. of the cathedral.
4. On the south side of the cathedral, at the rebuilding after the Great Fire, "were found several Scalps of Oxen, and a large Quantity of Boars' Tusks, with divers earthen Vessels, especially Paterae of different shapes."
5. In the cathedral archives of the year 1220 a message on the south side of the cathedral is mentioned as "Domum que fuit Diane."

Taking the first two together, there is some ground for thinking that the altar may have been associated with the building whose walls were found close by. That the statuette was found so far away as between the Deanery and Blackfriars weakens its significance, but it is nevertheless the only small representation of Diana recorded among the discoveries made in London, and is certainly in the same quarter, but that the area connected with a

single temple in a moderate-sized town such as Londinium should have extended from Foster Lane (behind the site of the old General Post Office) to the slope towards the Fleet River at Blackfriars is very unlikely. A link between



ALTAR TO DIANA.

Found on the site of the Goldsmiths' Hall, in Foster Lane, to the north-east of St Paul's Cathedral.

the two sites may perhaps be that indicated by the fourth piece of evidence recording the discovery on the south side of the cathedral of what were taken to be the remains of sacrifices accompanied by paterae. But these remains may have a totally different significance from that which was ascribed to them.

The fifth fragment of evidence, by which the name of Diana is associated with a message on the south side of the cathedral as early as the thirteenth century, would be of great value if it could be traced back to any record of the sixth or

seventh century. Without this earlier connection the use of the name may or may not be of any significance. It is just possible that some figure of the goddess in stone or metal, since lost, may have been found on the site designated and recognised by ecclesiastics having sufficient knowledge.



ROMAN STATUARY IN BRONZE AND STONE FOUND IN LONDON.

1. Harpocrates with his finger to his mouth indicating silence on the mysteries of religion (*British Museum*).
2. Hercules (*British Museum*).
3. Mars (*Guildhall Museum*).
4. Male figure, apparently part of a sepulchral monument. Found in Drury Lane (*London Museum*).
5. Atys, the Phrygian shepherd whom Cybele entrusted with the care of her temple (*British Museum*).
6. Ganymede, or a devotee of Cybele—Thames, London (*British Museum*).

Summing up the whole evidence, one is compelled to admit that the only item which carries real weight is the stone altar found in association with very well-built walls a little to the north-east of the cathedral.

The worship of Diana seems not to have been very popular in Britain, for apart from the shrine in Londinium, only one other locality, namely Newstead, near Melrose, has so far revealed any association with her. It is possible that, like Isis, she was worshipped mainly by foreign elements, perhaps from central Italy or the Hellenic lands, where her cult was anciently very widespread.

At Londinium, as at Rome, adoration of the god of the river upon which the city so much depended would have been popular. It is therefore not at all surprising to find in London a life-size statue in marble of a river deity. It must have been, judging from the head and part of the torso which remain,¹ quite a fine work of art, having distinctly Hellenic characteristics. The eyes show exceptional feeling, quite remote from the hard, almost staring expression of Roman busts of the fourth century. The discovery of this sculpture was made, it appears, in Bond Court, close to the Wallbrook,² in the same place as the Mithraic slab, and a decapitated marble statue perhaps representing Bona Fortuna or, more probably, Bonus Eventus, for the figure appears to be male.

It may be noted that the discovery of the two figures in marble is not without significance, for, with a community the prosperity of which depended very largely on sea commerce, the erection of a fane to the deity of the Thames, in conjunction with Good Fortune, was precisely the idea which would occur to the average merchant. The quality of the sculptures shows them to

¹ London Museum.

² The provenance is not absolutely certain.

have been importations, and this, in view of the fact that the mercantile fraternity would have possessed facilities for such acquisitions, lends colour to the idea.

Two significant names are connected with gates of London which probably point to a survival in Roman times of the obscure Celtic deities of pre-Roman Britain. The first is Lud, also called Nodons or Nudens. As far as is known he was a kind of combination of Neptune and Jupiter, with some of the attributes of Mars. In Roman times a temple was built to him at a place which still preserves his name—Lydney on the Severn, and his characteristics are borne out by marine scenes in the mosaic pavements. In London the name of this Celtic deity survives to this day in Ludgate, a most significant fact suggesting that this gateway, facing the Fleet River, was regarded as being placed under his special protection. Another Celtic god, of obscure attributes, bore the name Belinus, and Sir John Rhys has doubtfully associated him with Billingsgate, east of the northern end of London Bridge.

Viewed as a whole, it must be admitted that evidence for the existence of temples of the pagan deities in Londinium is meagre, but, at the same time, in view of the wholesale destruction of massive buildings which has undoubtedly taken place in the last fourteen centuries, this is not at all surprising. All Londinium's great structures have vanished from sight, apart from fragments of the defensive wall, but the mere fact that the base of a column, composed of red granite 5 feet 3 inches in diameter, has come to light, is sufficiently strong evidence to demonstrate the scale of the more important edifices. It has been shown that there were at least temples in honour of an Emperor, to the Mother Goddesses, Mithras, Diana, and Isis, and it cannot be doubted that other Roman divinities, pre-eminently

Jupiter, as well as Juno, Mars and Minerva possessed fanes on a suitable scale in the greatest city of Roman Britain. Who can tell how many Roman columns which had been utilised in the construction of mediaeval churches and public buildings were calcined in the two devastations of London during the reign of Alfred; in the many known fires throughout the Middle Ages; and in the Great Fire of 1666, which swept away almost every trace of the antiquities of the city?

No site of any Christian Church in Londinium can be traced and, in addition,

the testimony to the existence of Christianity in Londinium is so extremely slight that were there no literary evidence to establish its reality, one might almost be led to doubt the prevalence of the new faith in the British capital.

The first and most important piece of archæological evidence is to be found at St Etheldreda's Church, Ely Place. It is a curiously archaic bowl-shaped font of limestone of similar form to the two which are preserved at Brecon Cathedral. It was found buried in the centre of the undercroft, and in that respect affords a parallel with those at Brecon which were unearthed in the cloister. Of the St Etheldreda's font Sir Gilbert Scott said, "You may call the bowl British or Roman, for it is older than the Saxon period," and some support



FONT AT ST ETHELDREDA'S CHURCH,
ELY PLACE, HOLBORN.

Considered by Sir Gilbert Scott to be "older than the Saxon period." It is composed of a hard limestone (not granite) and may be an importation.

to this statement is provided by the fact that Roman bricks have been found on the site.¹ The position is on the crest of the western slope of the hollow through which the little Fleet River flowed (and continues to flow, although out of sight), and is therefore well outside the walled area of the city, in other words, just where one would expect to find an early Christian church before, or even after, the new faith had been officially recognised. I have already stated² that everything points towards the Christian Church in Britain having been without wealth, and such a condition would naturally militate against the acquisition of a site in the heart of the busy and crowded capital, where land could only be purchased at a high figure.

Having considered all the evidence available, I am bound to confess that this hitherto overlooked relic is more convincing as to the presence of a Christian place of worship than any of the small items about to be mentioned.

There are two small earthenware lamps in the Guildhall Museum bearing the Chi-Rho monogram conspicuously in the centre. They may have been imported, but their presence in Londinium testifies to their being in demand. At Battersea were found eight lumps of pewter bearing two types of Christian stamp, in conjunction with the late Gallo-Roman name of Syagrius. In Lothbury was discovered a silver pin with an ornamental head in the form of a flat disc, bearing upon it a representation of a helmeted Emperor gazing upwards at a cross in the heavens among stars. This can only represent the vision of Constantine, the cross being in place of the Chi-Rho. Other very uncertain indications are a bronze chain-bracelet³ bearing upon it a cross in

¹ I noted five Roman bricks in the forecourt of the church in June 1924. They were all incomplete, but averaged $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches in thickness.

² P. 222 *infra*.

³ In the British Museum.

the form of two short pieces of tube intersecting one another, but its significance is doubtful; the central design of a mosaic pavement found on the site of the Bank of England consisting of a floriated cross; an enamelled plate, on which the ornamentation includes two winged beasts apparently drinking from a vase; and lastly, a funeral cist of lead found in Warwick Square (E.C.), bearing upon it a double-cross monogram. The stone sarcophagus found on the north side of Westminster Abbey has an inscription, of which the form is decidedly Christian, and may perhaps, in spite of the fine quality of the lettering, belong to a late epoch, perhaps surprisingly late.

Here is all the archæological material bearing any remote association with Christianity, and its total is so meagre and unsatisfying that there is scarcely anything to be deduced from it. In fact there is so little to discuss that one must be content with the fact which history records, that a Christian community in Londinium did exist, and that it was ruled by a bishop as early as the third century.

CHAPTER XIII

PRIVATE LIFE IN LONDINIUM

LONDINIUM being to a remarkable extent the focus of all the activities of Britain, private life in the city reached its greatest development. Where wealth is amassed there must always be considerable increase of comfort and luxury, and that the capital possessed the means of satisfying the desire for display is unquestionable.

References to many of the buildings of the city have already been made, and from the numerous mosaic pavements and quantities of wall decoration which have been brought to light, it is fairly clear that the interiors were adorned according to the class of the building, the ornamentation in some cases reaching a high level. In view of the large percentage of tessellated pavements found in country houses, it is certain that all the better class dwellings had, on their ground floors, this permanent form of decorative treatment, and that a considerable proportion of the apartments were warmed by hypocausts, is proved by the discoveries which have been made. That painted plaster covered the walls internally and sometimes externally as well is known, and in houses of the superior class there was sometimes a thin sheathing of marble. The homes of the artisans and the labourer were no doubt roughly built and poorly finished. Their materials may have been of timber and roughcast.

There is ample evidence of the forms of illumination employed in Londinium, oil lamps of all types in bronze and earthenware having been found. In addition, tallow candles (*sebaceus*) have come to light, and it is, of course, common knowledge that wax was used. Of other furniture no traces have survived. Every chair and table, every bed, couch, press and chest has

vanished, but keys and hasp locks tell of the existence of the latter and the usual variety of boxes and cupboards with doors. Bronze bells of various sizes suggest door communication and the calling of servants. That the interiors were possessed of many ornaments in bronze—perhaps gilded—is clear from the large number of small figures discovered. They range from little gnomes, of a couple of inches, to statuettes of fine workmanship, from six to eight inches in height. Figurines in terra-cotta and pipeclay are common but less numerous, being more exposed to destructive influences. No doubt some of these small figures in all the different materials may have been designed for religious purposes. Certain of them were doubtless the household *lares* and *penates*. The *lar* was probably in its original idea the house or farm god, while the *penates* were the dual patrons of the household storeroom.

As in every other city which has yielded relics of its ancient civilisation, London possesses vast quantities of the pottery and a representative collection of its glass ware. From these it is abundantly clear that the dining-tables of the Roman period were provided with all the usual varieties of continental and home-made plates, dishes, cups, vases, jugs, and bowls, as well as pieces, the purpose of which may have been mainly ornament. The red glazed ware of Gaul, variously known as "Samian" or "terra sigillata," was in very general use, and there is evidence that it was preserved with the greatest care after its manufacture had ceased, owing to the devastations wrought by the Alemanni and Franks in the third century. One small piece of this fine red ware, which has quite lately come to light, had been smashed into many pieces, and had afterwards been cemented together.¹

Enough glass has been found to obtain a very good

¹ See illustration facing page 89.

impression of the average types of vessel in use. Naturally an enormously large proportion has been broken, even after chance has brought it safely through the centuries, for the excavator's pick and spade reduces many articles of glass to splinters before their presence is known. There were graceful long-necked glass jugs with flat handles of various colours, particularly amber and blue, while bowls of blue, white, and greenish glass, with what is called "pillar" ornament, are frequently found.

Knives, spoons, and two-pronged forks¹ have been discovered in considerable numbers, and it should be noted that the presence of the last is somewhat rare, perhaps on account of their being less commonly used than to-day, and possibly because, being somewhat unsubstantial, they have to a great extent rusted away.

Of the immense quantity of silver plate which must have been in use, very little has survived. A handled silver bowl and a graceful little jug, now in the British Museum, seem to be the only objects not in private collections. A very small object of gold in the form of a child, two-thirds of an inch in height, was found in Poultry in 1873. Doubtless it was a charm or part of a personal ornament.

Of the food of the citizens of Londinium one can only gather information from the bones of animals and oyster shells. It is known that the Romano-British table was provided with a large variety of meat, poultry and game, and no doubt different types of bread were in demand, from the usual farm or household bread to the very light and porous *panis Parthicus*, which would only be seen on the tables of the rich. Hand-mills of volcanic stone from the Eifel, in the neighbourhood of Andernach on the Rhine, were imported into Britain in great quantities, and slave labour would grind the

¹ There are eight in the Guildhall Museum.



EXAMPLES OF IMPORTED AND BRITISH POTTERY FOUND IN LONDON.

1. Carinated (*i.e.* ridged) vase of 1st century A.D. found in Liverpool Street (*London Museum*). 2 and 4. Vases with slip ornament, New Forest type (*London and British Museums*). 3 and 7. Castor Durobrivae ware, with running hares and stags in relief or "barbotine." 5. Black glazed ware, imported (*Guildhall Museum*). 8. Vase with mica glaze, Bell Alley (*Guildhall Museum*). 9. Vessel with handle, Finsbury Circus (*London Museum*). 12. Cup with hollowed sides, Ivy Lane (*London Museum*). 14. Vase of Upchurch (Medway) ware from London Wall (*London Museum*). 15. Handled cup ornamented with grotesque face, London Wall (*London Museum*). 16. Late Roman jug (*British Museum*).



necessary quantity of flour for daily consumption. To what extent mills, the power for which was provided by animals, supplied household flour can only be guessed, but the large form of millstone has been found in London.

In the kitchens were used great amphorae and all sizes of mortaria. In the latter food of various sorts was worked up or pounded, and so thin are the bottoms through hard use that it is rare to find one not worn into a hole. A type of earthenware cooking pot is that illustrated on page 229. It is a very rare example of a saucepan having a socket for a wooden handle. In the large jars and amphorae were kept wine, oil, water, and other liquids. A ladle and strainers are among other culinary articles in the Guildhall Museum.

Apart from the statuettes and sculptured stones discovered in London, there are no indications of what fashions in clothing were followed, except in regard to footware. One monument seems to indicate that in early days, at any rate, some of the citizens liked to wear the toga. The effigy found in the Camomile Street bastion shows that the sleeved cloak or *paenula* was at one time the correct garb, the toga having been superseded, doubtless on account of its inconvenience. The types of leathern shoes and boots found in London vary considerably, but do not include anything which can definitely be called a sandal. All are entirely lacking in heels, and there was a tendency to perforate the leather in elaborate patterns. In some cases the uppers are merely cut to form loops for lacing, the rest of the sides being solid. Women's shoes were long and narrow with pointed toes, at least in one period—how far fashion changed the shape it is not possible to say, but there seems to have been a tendency to keep to this form.

It is unfortunate that, up to the present time, with the exception of a head and shoulders on a sarcophagus,

no sculpture portraying a contemporary woman has been found in London. There are small bronze statuettes, but they seem, for the most part, to represent deities or ideal figures, and can therefore hardly supply any information. Metal objects of personal adornment, however, are quite numerous. Those made of the precious metals have almost entirely disappeared. There is a silver armlet in the Guildhall Museum, and a small gold charm has just been mentioned. Bronze brooches have been found in large numbers, also hairpins of jet, bone, and bronze. The latter often possess ornamental heads. Combs of boxwood and bone are not uncommon, and bronze mirrors of the usual Roman type occur infrequently. Earrings, bracelets, armlets, rings for the fingers, in one case of gold and another of bronze inlaid with gold, have been brought to light in large numbers, also quantities of glass and earthenware beads.

Toilet articles are represented by numerous unguent and perfume bottles of glass, also by manicure sets, tweezers, strigils for use in the bath, earpicks, and other small implements and objects.

Writing materials are more abundant in Roman London than in any other site in Britain. Inkpots of bronze and earthenware (including Samian) are comparatively numerous, and one at least seems to have been made for carrying on the person. A few pens have been found, and *styli* for writing on wax tablets are exceptionally numerous. The wooden tablets for use with the *stylus* have also come to light, and the impression which one gains from the quantities of these objects is that Londinium contained a great number of offices with their clerical staffs.

Indications of the games played in Roman London afforded by archæological finds point mainly towards gambling and games of chance. There are numerous dice, *astragali* or knuckle bones, and a number of circular



Folding spoon.



Bells



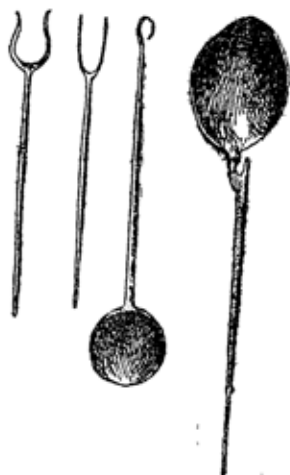
Section.



Mortarium.



Mortarium.



Strainer.

CULINARY OBJECTS FOUND IN LONDON.

The mortaria or mortars were used for the trituration of different foods, the inside surfaces being roughened by the insertion into the clay before baking of small fragments of crystalline stone.

(Guildhall and British Museums.)

discs generally regarded as counters or pieces in games, some of them perhaps for the famous amusement called *The Twelve Lines*.

The only evidence of musical recreation which has hitherto come to light consists of a bronze plate, regarded as a cymbal, and of various bone flutes and whistles. That more elaborate instruments of melody existed cannot be doubted, but none have been discovered, probably because they were largely composed of perishable materials.

Dancing and music are almost inseparable, but whether any stratum of Londinium's society indulged in this form of recreation is not known. One at least of the small bronze statuettes in the British Museum seems to represent a dancing girl, but this does not indicate that social dancing was practised to any extent. The Roman of the Republican regarded the recreation as degrading, and there are many disparaging references to it in the pages of Cicero and other writers. But the Roman Londoners may have been more broad-minded, although evidence is entirely lacking.

The service of the household was naturally performed by slaves, not necessarily ill-treated, but without rights. Readers of Juvenal will remember the terrible picture in the "*Legend of Bad Women*," of the lady who amused herself by crucifying her husband's slaves, and perhaps the little twisted four-tailed scourge in the Guildhall Museum was the property of one of those cruel mistresses lashed in verse by the great poet.

In what may be termed the middle-class houses of the city and suburbs there would be rather less amusement and fewer slaves. A great deal of the woollen cloth required for the household was doubtless spun by the mistress, her daughters, and her maids. Of this home industry, from which the young unmarried women of to-day derives her honourable title of spinster, many



ROMAN TOILET ARTICLES FOUND IN LONDON.

1. Bone pin with figure of Bona Fortuna. 2. Bronze mirror found in Southwark. 3. Bone comb — Coleman Street. 4 and 7. Boxwood combs. 5. Glass scent or unguent bottle. 6. Bronze stand, perhaps for pins. 8. Bronze tweezers. 9. Manicure and other implements of bronze.

(British and Guildhall Museums.)

traces have survived in the form of spindles of bone and wood, spindle whorls of almost every material, and finally carding combs.

Needles and bodkins, generally of bronze or bone, which are found in great numbers, show that the women of Londinium resembled those of all ages in their love of sewing and kindred tasks.

Every household would possess certain ordinary tools, such as pincers, chisels, hammers, choppers, gimlets, and



SCOURGE OR WHIP FOUND IN LONDON.

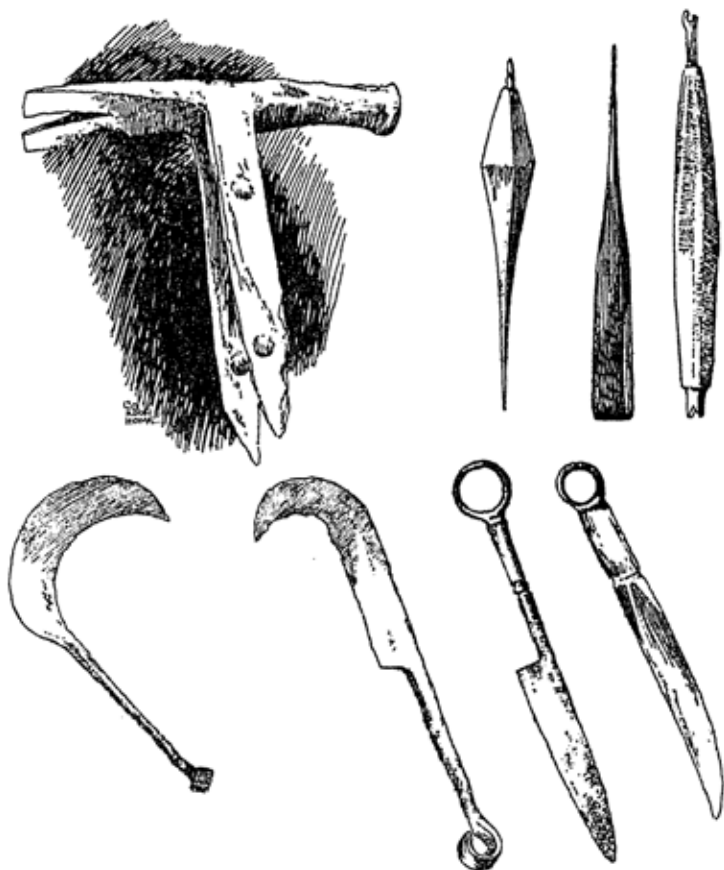
It consists of strands of plaited bronze wire.—*Guildhall Museum.*

awls. These have been found in abundance, and one of the latest additions to the Guildhall collection is that of a claw-ended hammer exactly resembling one of the present day.

The provision of household supplies necessitated the usual daily round of shopping and marketing, and the equipment of Londinium's stores is well represented. Bronze scales of various sizes, from a tiny pair for carrying in a pouch, to one suitable for average sales in a shop, have been unearthed, together with steelyards and various weights.

It is well known that Roman surgical skill employed a large variety of specialised implements. They are

slightly represented in London, and include lancets, spatulae, and a silver-plated object—the use of which cannot be determined.



A CLAW HAMMER (FOUND IN FENCHURCH STREET IN 1925), AWLS, AND OTHER TOOLS, PRUNING HOOKS, AND KNIVES WITH RINGS FOR SUSPENSION.

All found in London and now in the Guildhall Museum.

This short survey of the domestic life of the capital of Roman Britain, based upon the objects which have

been preserved throughout fifteen destructive centuries deep down beneath the present surface of the city, can only give an imperfect impression of the many-sided activities of the cosmopolitan population of one of the great cities of the Western Empire. If one consider the small proportion of objects in common use to-day which will be in existence fifteen centuries hence, it will be easy to understand how little of that which makes up the furnishing and appearance of domesticity to-day will survive. Of the Roman period of London there have vanished all woven materials, all furniture, all wooden articles, with a few trifling exceptions, and all paper. Enough colour in wall painting, mosaics, and enamel-ware has come down to the present day, however, to give one the feeling of a life in which there was no lack of brilliant contrasts and gaiety.

Among all the many relics of Roman London which have come to light, there is one which stands out from them all in bringing before the eyes in concrete form the permanence of certain qualities in human nature. This is a sentence, scribbled on a roofing tile before it was baked, in which a workman grumbles at the slackness of a fellow-labourer—"Austalis," he complains, "goes off on his own for a week every day."¹ It is always interesting to study the surface of roofing tiles, for they tell of the dogs and other animals which ran over the soft clay as it lay on the ground ready for cutting up. At Silchester (Reading Museum) there is preserved in this manner the only evidence existing of the form of a child's foot in Romano-British times.

The tendency of those who do not realise that every age is essentially modern, is to forget that the human equation plays its all-pervading part in every period of social development, and they therefore fail to realise that conditions of life to-day are in their essentials as

¹ See list of inscriptions in the Appendix.

they were between the first and the fifth centuries of this era. Human nature has changed very little since that epoch. Alter the architecture to the Roman style, change the costume as it varied throughout those centuries, replace modern political affairs with those of the great Empire, modify the menus of the dining-table, above all eliminate the mechanical contrivances of recent years, and imagine the result upon people who are to some extent of the same stock as modern Londoners. Then the filling in of the picture becomes a task of the greatest simplicity, for one has only to imagine the daily affairs of domestic, business, and public life *as experienced to-day*, with such modifications as a certain callousness in regard to human life and a somewhat different standard of general morality.

A CHRONOLOGY OF BRITAIN AND OF LONDINIUM

PART I. c. 700 B.C.—A.D. 43. BEFORE THE ROMAN CONQUEST

PART II. A.D. 43–457. TO THE LAST DEFINITE MENTION OF
LONDONIUM AS A ROMAN CITY

NOTE.—Emperors whose names are marked * died violent deaths, either in battle or by assassination. For a Roman Emperor, during the period 46 B.C.—A.D. 476, to die a natural death was the exception and not the rule.

SECTION I

BEFORE THE ROMAN CONQUEST

Comparative Chronology of the Western world, so far as its events appear to bear upon Britain, with such British events as can be approximately dated.

DATE B.C.	EUROPEAN EVENTS.	BRITISH EVENTS.
700 c.	Celtic Gauls overrun Gaul	Phœnician trading relations with S.-W Britain.
606 c.	Foundation of Massilia by Greeks	
600 c.	First Gallic invasion of, and settlement in, Northern Italy	
400 c.	Second Gallic migration into Italy	"Brythonic" migration into Britain.
396	Gauls capture Melpum, the great stronghold of the Etruscans in Northern Italy. Romans take Veii, the stronghold of Southern Etruria.	
390	Gauls sack Rome	
360	Romans defeat Gauls in their last attempt to invade Southern Italy	? Beginnings of settlement at London—the place of Londinos.
326-5	Alexander the Great in India	c. Pytheas of Massilia visits Britain and explores Northern Seas. Tin trade in Cornwall: friendly agricultural and pastoral people willing to trade.
304	Rome defeats Samnites and becomes principal power of Italy	
300	Massiliots introduce Macedonian-Greek coinage into Gaul	
283	Rome defeats Italian Gauls	
280	Eastern Gauls invade Balkania	
225-2	Rome subdues Italian Gauls	
202	End of 2nd Punic War. Rome supreme in Western Mediterranean	? Belgæ of Northern Gaul effect settlement in Southern Britain.
200		Introduction of Gold Coinage in Britain, pointing to considerable commercial intercourse.
190	Rome defeats Antiochus the Great and becomes predominant in Eastern Mediterranean	
150	Tendency to union among Celtic tribes of Gaul: Luerius, King of the Arverni, Overlord	
130	Bituitus, King of the Arverni, Overlord of Gaul	
125	Rome begins to subjugate Southern Gaul	
121	Overthrow of Bituitus	
112	Cimbri and Teutones invade Gaul	
102	Birth of C. Julius Caesar	
102-1	Cimbri and Teutones annihilated by Romans in attempt to invade Italy	

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DATE B.C.	EUROPEAN EVENTS.	BRITISH EVENTS.
90	Diviciacus, King of the Belgic Suessiones, Overlord of Northern Gaul	
85	Celtillus, King of the Arverni, attempts to restore Empire of Luerius and Bituitus	Diviciacus extends his suzerainty over Southern Britain. <i>Probable date for beginnings of increase in importance of London.</i>
80	Aedui predominant in Central Gaul	
70	Germans under Ariovistus invade Gaul	
60	Ariovistus overthrows the Aedui at Magetobriga	Cassivellaunus, King of the Catuvellauni, predominant in South-Eastern Britain.
58	C. Julius Caesar, Proconsul of Gaul, with special authority to settle German question. He drives Ariovistus across the Rhine.	
57	Caesar defeats Belgae	Britons send aid to Belgae.
56	Caesar defeats Veneti and other coast tribes	Britons aid Veneti.
55	Caesar crosses the Rhine	Caesar makes raid into Britain. Cassivellaunus defeats the Trinovantes. Caesar invades Britain, defeats Cassivellaunus and imposes tribute.
54		
52	Great Gallic Rising against Rome under Vercingetorix, aided by Commius, King of Gallic Atrebrates, defeated by Caesar	
51	Caesar completes conquest of Gaul. Commius expelled	Commius settles with the British Atrebrates and founds a kingdom in Britain.
49	Caesar leaves Gaul on account of Civil War	
46	C. JULIUS CAESAR, 1st Roman Emperor	
44	Murder of Caesar	
43	Civil War in Roman Empire The 2nd Triumvirate C. Julius Caesar Octavianus M. Antonius M. Aemilius Lepidus	Three Kingdoms— (1) Cassivellaunus (Catuvellauni, etc.). (2) Commius (Atrebrates, Cantil, etc.). (3) ? (Trinovantes, etc.).
35 ?		Tasciovanus, King of the Catuvellauni.
34	Octavianus in Gaul, probably contemplating expedition to Britain	
31	Defeat and death of Antonius C. JULIUS CAESAR OCTAVIANUS AUGUSTUS, and Roman Emperor (Caesar II.)	
27-6	Augustus in Gaul for British expedition	Tasciovanus and other Kings probably enter into direct relation with Rome. Commutation of tribute into customs-duties on British overseas trade. Tasciovanus conquers the sons of Commius. Tasciovanus conquers the Trinovantes (?).
20 ?		
15		
16-9	Augustus subdues Raetia and Pannonia and invades Germany	
10 &c.		Tasciovanus introduces coinage in three metals on Roman model. Cunobelinus ("Cymbeline"), son of Tasciovanus, King of Southern Britain—called <i>Rex Britonum</i> .
5		
5 B.C.-		
A.D. 14		Rapid increase in wealth and prosperity. Commerce, and especially valuable exports, noted by Strabo. <i>Period of commercial rise of London. Possible date of construction of Bridge over Thames.</i>
A.D. 14	TIBERIUS (I.) CLAUDIUS NERO CAESAR (Caesar III.) Victories of Germanicus in Germany	? British ambassador at Rome.
A.D. 21	Revolt of Florus and Sacrovir in Gaul	
A.D. 37	Death of Tiberius GAIUS CAESAR "CALIGULA" (Caesar IV.)	Britons render assistance to wrecked Roman warships.

CHRONOLOGY OF BRITAIN & LONDINIUM 237

DATE A.D.	EUROPEAN EVENTS.	BRITISH EVENTS.
A.D. 39	Gaius makes a military demonstration on Gallic coast	
A.D. 40	Caligula, receiving Adminius, announces "submission" of Britain	Family troubles in court of Cunobelinus. His (?) son Adminius rebels and flees to Rome.
A.D. 41	* TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS I NERO DRUSUS GERMANICUS CAESAR (Caesar V.)	? Death of Cunobelinus. Caratacus and Togodubnus, Kings of South Britain.
A.D. 43	Claudius determines to subjugate Britain	

SECTION II ROMAN PERIOD

DATE A.D.	ROMAN EMPEROR.	GOVERNOR OF BRITAIN.	EVENTS.
43	TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS I NERO DRUSUS GERMANICUS Caesar (Caesar V.)	Aulus Plautius	Invasion of Britain and conquest of South-East. <i>Battle at the bridge of Londinium.</i> Death of King Togodubnus.
47		Publius Ostorius Scapula	
49			Defeat of Brigantes.
50			Defeat and capture of King Caratacus.
51-2		Aulus Didius Gallus	
54	* L. DOMITIUS AENOBARBUS CLAUDIUS DRUSUS NERO (Caesar VI.)		
58		Dec. Veranius Nepos	<i>Commercial Pre-eminence of Londinium.</i>
59		C. Suetonius Paulinus (Decianus Catus Imperial Procurator)	
60		(Julius Classicianus, Imperial Procurator)	Great British rising under Boudicca. <i>Destruction of Camulodunum, Verulamium, and Londinium.</i> Defeat and death of Boudicca.
61		P. Petronius Turpilianus	<i>Restoration of Londinium. Possible building of temporary fort. Period of peaceful economy and organisation.</i>
63		M. Trebellius Maximus	
68	* SERV. SULPICIUS GALBA (Caesar VII.)		
69	* M. SALVIUS OTHO (Caesar VIII.)	M. Vettius Bolanus	
	* AULUS VITELLIUS (Caesar IX.)		
	TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS (Caesar X.)		
71		O. Petillius Cerealis	Cerealis attacks Brigantes.
74		Sextus Julius Frontinus	Frontinus conquers Wales.
74-7		Gnaeus Julius Agricola	
77			Subjection of Brigantes.
78			
79	TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS II. (Caesar XI.)		

DATE A.D.	ROMAN EMPEROR.	GOVERNOR OF BRITAIN.	EVENTS.
79-84			Agricola's campaigns in North. Rapid Romanisation of Southern Britain, and <i>probably unchallenged pre-eminence of London among the British cities.</i>
81 *	TITUS FLAVIUS DOMITI- ANUS (Caesar XII.)	L. (?) Sallustius Lucullus	Domitianus reduces garrison of Britain from 4 Legions to 3. Revolt of Brigantes under King Arviragus.
84	 Metilius Nepos C. Salvius Bassus (?)	
90 c.		T. Avidius Quietus	
95	M. COCCEIUS NERVA	L. Neratius Marcellus	
96	M. ULPIUS NERVA		
98	TRAJANUS I.	Q. Pompeius Falco	
103	P. AELIUS TRAJANUS		
117	HADRIANUS		
118			Destruction of Legio IX by Brigantes. Replaced by Legio VI, "Victrix."
119			Emperor Hadrian visits Britain. Statue erected in London. (?) Building of Wall of Hadrian.
120-1			
122 c.		A. Platorius Nepos	
127		M. Appius Bradua	
130		Sextus Julius Severus	
134	 Licinius Priscus	
138	TITUS AURELIUS ANTO- NINUS I.	Q. Lollius Urbicus	Building of Turf Wall between Clyde and Forth.
140 c.		Cn. Papirius Aelianus	
146		Gn. Julius Verus	Last Revolt of Brigantes.
155		M. Statius Priscus	Final subjection of Brigantes.
160	M. AURELIUS ANTONINUS II. (M. ANNIUS VERUS)		
161	L. AELIUS VERUS ANTO- NINUS III.	Sextus Calpurnius Agri- cola	War on Northern Frontier.
162			
165	GREAT PLAGUE BEGINS TO DEVASTATE		THE ROMAN EMPIRE.
167		L. Ulpius Marcellus (1st Term)	
170		C. Julius	
175		... Calvius Rufus	
180 *	L. AURELIUS COMMODUS ANTONINUS IV.	L. Ulpius Marcellus (2nd Term)	Caledonians invade Britain. De- feated by Marcellus.
184 c.		P. Helvius Pertinax	Conclusion of war.
186 c.		Dec. Clodius Albinus	
190 c.	P. HELVIUS PERTINAX		
192 *	C. DIDIUS JULIANUS I.		Britain proclaims Albinus Augus- tus. Severus acknowledges him as Caesar.
193 *	L. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS I.	Albinus Caesar.	Severus defeats and kills Albinus.
197		L. Virius Lupus	Britain divided into two provinces = Upper and Lower. <i>Londin- ium probably in Lower Britain.</i> Lupus buys off Caledonian in- vasion.
200 c.		(Deputy ?) M. Antius Crescens Calpurnianus	
202 c.	 Pollenius Auspex	

CHRONOLOGY OF BRITAIN & LONDINIUM 239

DATE A.D.	ROMAN EMPEROR.	GOVERNOR OF BRITAIN.	EVENTS.
205 206 c. 208 209		L. Alfenius Senecio	Caledonians invade Britain and break Wall of Hadrian. Senecio sends for help. Arrival of Severus and his sons. Antoninus accompanies him to North. <i>Geta left to administer South Britain, presumably at Londinium.</i>
211 *	M. AURELIUS BASSIANUS ANTONINUS V. "CARACALLUS" P. SEPTIMIUS GETA ANTONINUS VI. Marcus	Caracallus abandons territory north of Wall of Hadrian and outposts.
213 216 217 218	M. OPELIUS MACRINUS L. OPELIUS DIADUMENIANUS ANTONINUS VII. M. AURELIUS ANTONINUS VIII. "ELAGABALUS"	M. Julius Martiusdianus Modius Julius	
219 221 222	M. AURELIUS SEVERUS II. ALEXANDER L. JULIUS AURELIUS URANIUS ANTONINUS IX.	Tib. Claudius Pausinus Marius Valerianus	
225 227 230	 Maximus .. Claudius Apellinus (?) Valerius Crescens Pul- vianus	
235 *	GAIUS JULIUS VALERIUS MAXIMINUS I.ccianus	
237 238 *	M. CLODIUS MAXIMUS I. Pupienus Dec. JUNIUS BALBINUS M. ANTONIUS GORDIANUS I. M. ANTONIUS GORDIANUS II. M. ANTONIUS GORDIANUS III.	Egnatius Lucilianus Maecilius Fuscus Nonius Philippus ?? Tib. Claudius Quin- tianus ?? M. Didius Provincialis	
239 c. 241 c. 242 244 *	M. JULIUS PHILIPPUS I. M. JULIUS PHILIPPUS II. C. MESSIUS QUINTUS DECIUS TRAJANUS II. HERENNIUS ETRUSCUS		? <i>Martyrdom of Augustus, Bishop of Londinium.</i> (6th Century Martyrologia of Pseudo-Hieronymus.)
251 *	HOSTILIANUS C. VIBIUS TREBONIANUS GALLUS I.		
253	AEMILIANUS P. LICINIUS VALERIANUS I.	Titus Flavius Postumius Varus (before 271)	
	P. LICINIUS EGNATIUS GALLIENUS SALONINUS)	Cornelius Rufilianus	
255	"The Thirty Tyrants"—local emperors in various parts of Empire. They are not to be regarded generally as usurpers, much less tyrants in a discreditable sense. Only those who exercised authority in the West are here noted.		

240 CHRONOLOGY OF BRITAIN & LONDINIUM

DATE A.D.	ROMAN EMPEROR.	GOVERNOR OF BRITAIN.	EVENTS.
	GREAT	PLAGUE IN ROMAN EMPIRE.	
258 259 c.	POSTUMUS (Gaul)	T. (?) Desticius Juba	Recognised in Britain. Probably the last Legatus Augusti pro-Praetore.
265	VICTORINUS (Gaul)		Victorinus recognised in Britain.
	LAELIANUS " "		Laelianus " "
	MARIUS " "		Marius " "
268	VICTORIA " "		
	TETRICUS " "		Tetricus " "
	M. AURELIUS CLAUDIUS II., " Gothicus "		
	M. AURELIUS CLAUDIUS QUINTILLUS		
270 *	L. DOMITIUS VALERIUS AURELIANUS		
275 *	M. CLAUDIUS TACITUS		
275 *	M. ANNIUS FLORIANUS		
276 *	M. AURELIUS VALERIUS PROBUS		
277	BONOSUS (Briton) and Pro- culus (Gaul), usurpers on Rhine defeated by Probus	" The Nameless Usurper "	The Nameless Usurper killed by general of Probus Probus settles Vandal and Bur- gundian prisoners of war in Britain.
282	M. AURELIUS CARUS		SAXONS TROUBLE BRITISH COASTS.
283 *	M. AURELIUS NUMERIANUS		
283 *	M. AURELIUS CARINUS		Carinus assumes title of <i>Britannicus Maximus</i> , presumably for victory over Saxons.
284 *	C. Aurelius Valerius DIO- CLETIANUS " Jovius "		
285 *	M. AURELIUS VALERIUS MAXIMIANUS, " HERCU- LEUS " (colleague)		<i>Carausius Maus(ontus)</i> appointed <i>Comes Litoris Saxonici</i> (Admiral of Britain).
286		*M. Aurelius Valerius CAR- AUSIUS Augustus	Carausius defeats Maximianus.
288			Carausius recognised as Augustus of Britain by Diocletianus and Maximianus. <i>Mint established at Londinium</i> , also at Camulo- dunum, etc.
292	FLAVIUS VALERIUS CON- STANTIUS I. " CHLORUS," Caesar (Junior Emperor) of the West		
	C. GALERIUS MAXIMI- ANUS II., Caesar of the East.		
293		*ALLECTUS	Allectus murders Carausius.
296			Defeat and death of Allectus. <i>Londinium sacked by routed army and relieved by Constantius.</i> <i>? Londinium erects walls.</i>
303			Persecution of Christians. (?) Mar- tyrdom of St Albanus.
305	Constantius succeeds Maxi- mianus		
306	Galerius succeeds Diocletian		
	FLAVIUS VALERIUS CON- STANTINUS I., Caesar of the Gauls		Picts invade the North. Defeated by Constantius. Death of Con- stantius at Eboracum (York).
	* M. AURELIUS VALERIUS MAX- ENTIUS, Caesar of Italy and Africa		

CHRONOLOGY OF BRITAIN & LONDINIUM 241

DATE A.D.	ROMAN EMPEROR.	GOVERNOR OF BRITAIN.	EVENTS.
307 *	FLAVIUS VALERIUS SEVERUS III.		Constantine gains victories over Picts and Irish, and apparently annexes territory in the north.
	* C. GALERIUS VALERIUS MAXIMINUS DAIA, Caesar of the East		
	* FLAVIUS GALERIUS VALERIUS LICINIANUS LICINIUS AUGUSTUS of Illyricum		
311		? Octavius Sabinus	Death of Galerius.
312	Constantine I., Emperor of the West.		Defeat of Maxentius by Constantine.
314			Synod of Arles. <i>Restitutus</i> , Bishop of Londinium, present.
323	CONSTANTINUS I., sole Emperor		Defeat and death of Licinius.
330			Consecration of Constantinople.
			<i>Mint at Londinium closed about same time (? measure of economy). Londinium renamed Augusta.</i>
337 *	FLAVIUS JULIUS CONSTANTINUS II.		
	FLAVIUS JULIUS CONSTANTINUS II.		
	* FLAVIUS JULIUS CONSTANS I.		
340 c.		Gratianus	
343			Death of Constantine II.
			BRITAIN INVADED BY IRISH (?) WHO ARE DEFEATED BY CONSTANS I. IN A MID-WINTER EXPEDITION.
350 *	MAGNENTIUS (Briton)		Magnentius kills Constans I.
	* DECENTIUS (Brother)		
	* VETRICIO		
	* NEPOTIANUS		
353		Martinus	
			Constantine II. defeats usurpers.
355 *	FLAVIUS CLAUDIUS JULIANUS IV., Caesar of West	Alypius	Political inquisition in Britain conducted by Paulus "Catena."
360			Suicide of Martinus.
			PICTS AND IRISH THREATEN BRITAIN.
			<i>Julianus sends Magister Equitum Lupicinus to Londinium Augusta.</i>
361	JULIANUS IV., sole Emperor		
362	FLAVIUS JOVINUS		Drought in Britain.
363			Death of Julianus in Mesopotamia.
364	FLAVIUS VALENTINIANUS I. (West)		PICTS, IRISH, "SAXONS," ATROTTI AND FRANKS THREATEN BRITAIN.
	* FLAVIUS VALENS (East)		
368		COUNT THEODOSIUS Civilis, Civil Governor	
			COLLAPSE OF DEFENCE. FULLOFAUDES, <i>Dux Britanniarum</i> , AND NECTORIDUS, <i>Comes Littoris Sætorici</i> , DEFEATED AND PROVINCE OVERRUN.
			Valentinianus despatches as special Governor-General the <i>Comes Theodosius</i> .
			? <i>Londinium hastily walled.</i>
			<i>Londinium besieged, but relieved by Theodosius.</i>

242 CHRONOLOGY OF BRITAIN & LONDINIUM

DATE A.D.	ROMAN EMPEROR.	GOVERNOR OF BRITAIN.	EVENTS.
369			THEODOSIUS DEFEATS INVADERS, reorganises province and probably establishes definite protectorate over region north of Hadrian's Wall (Valentia?). Drought in Britain.
374 375	* FLAVIUS GRATIANUS I. (West)		
	* FLAVIUS VALENTINIANUS II. (West)		
378	FLAVIUS THEODOSIUS I. (East)		Defeat and death of Valens at Battle of Adrianople. Visigoths overrun Balkania.
380		Magnus Clemens Maximus, Count of Britain (?)	
383	* MAGNUS CLEMENS MAXIMUS III. (West)		Defeat and death of Gratianus.
	* FLAVIUS VICTOR (son)		<i>Londinium mint reopened.</i> Maximus defeats Picts. Theodosius I. kills Maximus.
388 390			PICTS, IRISH, ETC., RENEW ATTACKS UPON BRITAIN. (Army probably weakened by withdrawals to civil wars.)
392	* FLAVIUS EUGENIUS (West)		Eugenius kills Valentinianus II. IRISH OVERRUN WALES. Flavius Stilicho, <i>Magister Militum</i> of the West.
394	THEODOSIUS I., Emperor of East and West	Chrysanthus, son of Marcianus — Vicarius of Britain. (He was afterwards Bishop of the Church of Novantians at Constantinople.— <i>Socrates (Eusebius)</i> , Bk. VII., ch. xii.)	Theodosius I. kills Eugenius.
395	FLAVIUS ARCADIUS (East)		
396	FLAVIUS HONORIUS (West)		Stilicho on the Rhine.
397-8			REORGANISATION OF BRITISH DEFENCES BY STILICHO. <i>? Bastions and wall facing Thames added to Londinium's defences.</i>
401			Italy threatened by Alaric the Visigoth. Legio XX. (?) leaves Britain for defence of Italy.
402-3			Defeat of Alaric.
405			Stilicho annihilates fresh horde of Teutonic invaders of Italy.
406			Alans, Sueves, Vandals, Alemanni and Burgundians overrun Gaul.
407			Britons rise in revolt against Honorius and Stilicho on account of danger of Gaul.
		Marcus, Emperor Gratianus, Emperor Constantinus, Emperor	
	* FLAVIUS CLAUDIUS CONSTANTINUS III.		Constantinus goes to aid of Gaul and withdraws troops from Britain. FIRST DEPARTURE OF THE EAGLES.
408	FLAVIUS THEODOSIUS II. (East)		
409			SAXONS INVADE BRITAIN.

CHRONOLOGY OF BRITAIN & LONDINIUM 243

DATE A.D.	ROMAN EMPEROR.	GOVERNOR OF BRITAIN.	EVENTS.
410	Local usurpers in Gaul		BRITONS disown Constantine III., raise fresh forces, and DEFEAT INVADERS. ACTION SANCTIONED BY HONORIUS.
411			ALARIC SACKS ROME.
415 ?			Constantine III. overthrown by Count Constantius.
417			RENEWED BARBARIAN ATTACKS ON BRITAIN.
			Constantius sends back troops to Britain (according to Gildas, a legion) and invaders are defeated.
			FIRST RETURN OF THE EAGLES.
421	FLAVIUS CONSTANTIUS III., with Honorius		
422			Death of Constantius III.
423 *	JOHANNES I. (West)		Death of Honorius and usurpation of throne by Johannes the Primicerius.
424			Johannes threatened by Eastern Emperor. Troops probably called from Britain for his defence.
			SECOND DEPARTURE OF THE EAGLES.
425 *	FLAVIUS PLACIDUS VALENTINIANUS III.		RENEWED BARBARIAN ATTACKS ON BRITAIN. Revolt in Gaul.
426-7			Revolt in Gaul suppressed by Aetius.
428			Aetius defeats Franks in Northern Gaul. Reinforcements sent to Britain.
			SECOND RETURN OF THE EAGLES.
429			DEFEAT OF INVADERS. St Germanus in Britain. He visits Verulam, probably London also. The "Abelucia" Victory. Vandals invade Africa.
			Last Edition of Notitia Dignitatum. Britain a Diocese with five provinces. <i>Treasury at Londinium, which was therefore the capital.</i>
434			English invade Ireland. Britain probably too well defended.
439			VANDALS TAKE CARTHAGE.
440			Drought in Britain.
			Vandals attack Sicily. Troops withdrawn from Britain to defend Italy.
			<i>General repair of defences: possible date of bastions and river wall at Londinium.</i>
			FINAL DEPARTURE OF THE EAGLES.
442			ENGLISH, ETC., INVADE BRITAIN.
443 c.			Famine in Britain.
446			Romano-Britons appeal for aid without result.
			ROMANO-BRITONS RALLY AND DEFEAT INVADERS.
447		Elafius, Last Vicarius ??	St Germanus again in Britain.
450	FLAVIUS MARCIANUS (East)		Rise of Vortigern.

244 CHRONOLOGY OF BRITAIN & LONDINIUM

DATE A.D.	ROMAN EMPEROR.	GOVERNOR OF BRITAIN.	EVENTS.
451			Attila invades Gaul and is repulsed by Aetius. Britons enlist English and Jutish mercenaries under Hengist and Horsa.
454 ? 455 *	PETRONIUS MAXIMUS V. (West)		PLAGUE RAVAGES BRITAIN. VANDALS SACK ROME.
?	M. MARCELIUS AVITUS (West)		English mercenaries revolt and invade Kent. English defeated by Vortimer, son of Vortigern. Hengist entraps and massacres British notabilities. Britons defeated at the river Cray in Kent. <i>Remains of army take refuge in Londinium.</i>
457	FLAVIUS LEO (East)		<i>Last glimpse of Londinium as a Romano-British city.</i>
	* FLAVIUS JULIUS VALERIUS MAJORIANUS (West)		<i>No further mention until about 600.</i>

APPENDIX

GREEK AND ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN LONDON

[*N.B.*—Ligatured letters shown with a bracket below]

I. GREEK

<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="flex: 1;"> <p>ΩΝΙΑ ΜΑΡΤΙΑ ΑΙ-Ι ΤΩΑΝΔΡΙ</p> <p>With relief of a gladiator.</p> <p>21½ × 15½ × 3½ in.</p> </div> <div style="flex: 1;"> <p><i>Antonia Martiala</i> to the Memory of her Husband.</p> <p>Found among ruins of a house in Islington and finally rediscovered in Tottenham Court Road. (<i>Guildhall Museum.</i>)</p> </div> </div>
<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="flex: 1;"> <p>ΔΕΞ[?]Ε [?]ΔΙΟ]ΤΙ[?] ? ΧΡΗΦ[?]] ΧΑΙΠΕ</p> <p>On a memorial tablet showing in low relief a woman seated on a draped stool and beside her a child (? a boy). Found in Drury Lane. (<i>London Museum.</i>)</p> </div> <div style="flex: 1;"> <p>The suggested interpretation of this half-obliterated inscription is—Dexios, excellent son of ? Farewell!</p> </div> </div>
<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="flex: 1;"> <p>P M HELLEI</p> </div> <div style="flex: 1;"> <p>A fragmentary inscription which appears to refer to a Greek—Hellene. Found in the Thames. (<i>British Museum.</i>)</p> </div> </div>
<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="flex: 1;"> <p>OC T ΘΥ C ΧΑΙΠΕ</p> </div> <div style="flex: 1;"> <p>Beneath a relief of man wearing a toga. The only word legible is "Farewell." Found in Lamb's Conduit Street. (<i>British Museum.</i> See facing p. 208.)</p> </div> </div>

2. ROMAN—HELLENISED PERSONS IF NOT ACTUALLY GREEKS

<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="flex: 1;"> <p>D · M CL · MARTI NAE · AN · XIX ANENCLE TVS PROVINC CONIVGI PIENTISSIMAE — H · S · E</p> </div> <div style="flex: 1;"> <p>To the Gods of the Underworld. To Claudia Martina, his most dutiful (or affectionate) wife who lived to the age of nineteen, Anencletus Provinc(ialis). She lies here.</p> <p>Found in Ludgate Hill near the London Coffee House, by St Martin's Church, in 1806. (<i>Guildhall Museum.</i>)</p> </div> </div>
--

D M
 ONESIMO · VIX · AN · XIII
 DOMITIVS · ELAINVS · PATER
 FILIO B · M

To the Gods of the
 Underworld.

To Onesimus, his well-deserv-
 ing son, who lived to the age of
 thirteen, Domitius Elainus the
 father.

D[IS] M [MANIBVS]
 ONESIMO · VIX[IT] · AN[NOS] · XIII
 DOMITIVS · ELAINVS · PATER
 FILIO · B[ENE]M[ERITO]

? Found in Basing Lane in
 1852, but no authentic record
 of discovery.

(*Guildhall Museum.*)

3. ROMAN—SOLDIERS OF THE LEGIONS OF BRITAIN

LEGIO II AUGUSTA (CAERLEON)

VLPI EMERI
 VS TVS · LEG
 SILVA II · AVG
 NVS VOTVM
 SOLVIT

Ulpus Silvanus having served
 his time in Legio II Augusta,
 fulfils his vow.

.....
 FAC ARAV
 TVS SIONE

Made or done at Arausio
 (Orange).

(Whether this last refers to the vow
 or to the monumental stone has been
 much discussed.)

On Mithraic monument found (?) in Bond Court, Wallbrook, in 1889.
 (*London Museum.*)

D. M.
 VIVIO MARCI
 ANO MI LEG II
 AVG IANVARIA
 MARTINA CONIVNX
 PIENTISSIMA POSV
 IT · ME MORIAM

Dis Manibus
 Vivio Marci-
 ano Militi Legionis II
 Augustae Januaria
 Martina conjunx
 pientissima posu-
 it memoriam.

To the Gods of
 the Underworld.
 To Vivius Marcian-
 us, soldier of the
 Second Legion Au-
 gusta, Januaria Mar-
 tina, his most devoted
 wife raised this me-
 morial.

Inscription above figure of
 a Roman soldier.

Found in Ludgate Hill, site of St Martin's
 Church, in 1669.

(*Now among Arundellian Marbles at Oxford.*)

Perhaps of First Century.

?BVS

[Dis mani]BVS

PR · L · F · G ? CELSV [Vale]R · L · F · G [al] CELSV[s]
 PEC · LEG VG · AI [s]PEC[ulator] LEG[ionis II A]UG A[nto]
 N · DARDANVS · CV N[ius] DARDANVS CV[rator]
 ERIVS · PVDENS [Val]ERIVS · PVDENS
 PROBVS SPEC L ? PROBVS SPEC L[? eg]

To the Gods of the Underworld.

. . . Gallus Celsus, son of Lucius, scout of the Second Legion Augusta, Antonius (? Annius) Dardanus Curator (and) Valerius Pudens (and) . . . Probus, Scout (of the Second Legion Augusta, erected this memorial).

Found in Playhouse Yard, Blackfriars, in 1843.
(British Museum.)

LEGIO VI VICTRIX (YORK)

Later than A.D. 120

D · M

To the Gods of the Underworld.

FL · AGRICOLA · MIL
 LEG · VI · VICT · V · AN
 XLII · D · X · ALBIA
 FAVSTINA CONIVGI
 INCOMPARABILI
 F · C

To her incomparable husband Flavius Agricola, Soldier of the Sixth Legion, Victrix, who lived forty-two years and ten days, Albia Faustina erected this monument.

(At the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House.)

LEGIO XX VALERIA VICTRIX (CHESTER)

D · M

To the Gods of the Underworld.

IVL · VALIVS
 MIL · LE(G) · XX · V · V
 AN · XL · H · S · E
 C[URAM] · A[GENTE] · FLAVIO
 ATTIO · HER[EDE]

Julius Valius, Soldier of the Twentieth Legion, Valeria Victrix, forty years old. Here he lies. . . . Flavius Attius his heir. . . .

Found in Church Lane, White-chapel, in 1784.

(Lost.)

VRNI [NO MIL]
 LEG · X [X · V · V]
 C · AC[IVS]
 M [ODESTVS]
 [HERES FECIT]

Part of the gravestone of a Soldier of the Twentieth Legion.

Found at Pentonville, east of Maiden Lane, near Battle Bridge (King's Cross), in 1842.

C.I.L., VII. 26.

(British Museum.)

[D] M
 V^o SEMPRO
 [CEN]TVRION [?] LEG
 [VIXIT]ANNOS · LI ·
 ... VS [SEMP]RONIIS
 SECVNDQ
 [LIBER]TI · EIVS
 [ME]REN
 [TIBVS POS]V[ERV]NT

To the Gods of the Underworld.
 Sempronius Sempronianus,
 Centurion of the ... Legion
 ... who lived to the age
 of fifty-one years
 ... erected this stone.

Found in southern end of
 Bishopsgate. Much defaced
 on left.

(*London Museum.*)

4. ROMAN—REFERRING TO TEMPLES

NVMC[LAVG]
 PROV[INCIA]
 BRITA[NNIAE]

If the additions correct would
 read :

To the glory of Claudius
 Augustus, the Province of
 Britain.

(See p. 213.)

Found in Nicholas Lane,
 Cannon Street, in 1830.

(*Lost.*)

VICINIA y DE SVO y RES[MATR[IBVS]
 [TITVIT]

Vicinia restored the Shrine
 to the Mothers [*i.e.* the
 Mother Goddesses] at her
 own expense.

(See p. 212.)

On moulded stone 15½ inches in length.

Found in Budge Row.

(*Guildhall Museum.*)

LONDINI
 AD FANVM ISIDIS

At Londinium
 by the Temple of Isis.

(See p. 215.)

Graffito on an earthenware vessel.

Found in Southwark.

(*London Museum.*)

F OII
 -I FAAX
 AVAI

On the back of an altar
 of Diana.

(*Goldsmiths' Hall, Foster
 Lane, Cheapside.*)

5. ROMAN—VARIOUS

D · M
GRATA DAGO
BITIFILAN XL
SOLINVS CON
IVGIKAR FC

To the Gods of the Underworld.
To his beloved wife, Grata the
daughter of Dagobitus, who lived
to the age of forty, Solinus erected
this monument.

Found in London Wall, opposite
Finsbury Circus.
(*Guildhall Museum.*)

M
AVR · EVCARPO
FIL PIENTISSIMO
VIXIT · ANN · XV
M · VI · AVR · EVC
ARPIA · MA · POSSVIT

Aurelia Eucarpa erected this
to her most dutiful son
Aurelius Eucarpus, who lived
to the age of fifteen years and
six months.

Found in Moorgate Street.
(*London Museum.*)

A · ALFID · POM · P
OLVSSA EX TES
TAMENTO · HER
POS · ANNO R · LXX ·
NA ATH[OR ATI]ENI
H S EST

To A[ulus] Alfidius Olussa of the
Pomptine tribe, a native of [? Athens
or] Atina, who lived seventy years.
His heirs erected this in accordance
with his will.

He lies here.

Note.—In the fifth line the TH in
ligature is doubtful. The bar of the
H does not appear to have been incised.
It seems to be only modern interpreta-
tion. By his name and tribe Olussa is
far more likely to have been a native
of Atina in Latium. Alfidius is an
ancient Italian name and the use of the
term native or nation implies something
more than temporary residence. Atina
and Atinum are both towns near the
area of the Pomptine tribe.

Found on Tower Hill.
(*British Museum.*)

C.I.L., VII. 29.

DIS
MANIB
T · LICINI
ASCANI
VS · F

To the Gods of the
Underworld.
T[? itus] Licinius Ascanius
[? fecit]

Found at Tower Ordnance
Office in 1777.
(*Lost.*)

MEMORIAE · VALER · AMAN
DINI · VALERI · SVPERVEN
TOR · ET · MARCELLVS · PATRI · FECER

To the memory of
their father Valerius
Amandinus, Valerius
Superventor and
Marcellus made this.

On the side of a stone sarcophagus.

Found N.W. of
north transept of
Westminster Abbey.
(*Now in entrance to
Chapter-House of
Westminster Abbey.*)

....ET MEMORIA[E]
...ELIAE NVMIDI[AE]
[PIE]NTISSIMA FEMI[NA]
RELIQVA CAV[SA]

. . . . and to the memory
of Elia Numidia
his most devoted wife.

? ?

Found in Castle Street.
(? *Formerly in Guildhall Museum.*)

WUNANI
.....NIISTIGNATIVS
....IMNTIÆSSEL STRAT
.....SEM D S P D

The donor's name is uncertain but ap-
pears to be . . . N[? E]STIGNATIVS
[PAV]IM[E]NTI [T]ESSEL
[LATVM] STRAT[VM]
... SEM D[E]S[VA] P[ECVNIA]
D[EDIT]

. gave this tessellated pave-
ment at his own expense.

On a mosaic pavement found in Monu-
ment Street, at depth of 12 feet.
(*Lost.*)

ROMAN—FRAGMENTARY

DIS MANIB[VS] Letters about 2 inches high.	To the Gods of the Underworld. (<i>Guildhall Museum.</i>)
M LIV TVS VI · ANL CA · STERT NINTAC[O][NIVNX]	Found in Houndsditch. (<i>Lost.</i>)
[D · M] AVI[DIV] [A]NTIO[CHVS] [ANNO]R[VM] LXX	[To the Gods of the Underworld.] Avidius Antiochus of seventy years. Found in Castle Street in 1884. (<i>Lost.</i>)
CANDIDI (Stone 1 ft. 6 in. × 1 ft. 6 in.)	Found in Castle Street. (<i>Lost.</i>)
IVI · · · · S DO	(<i>Lost.</i>)
DIS [M]ANIBVS P[AB] · ALPINI · CLASSICIANI This may have belonged to the tomb of Julius Classicianus who was the Imperial Procurator in A.D. 60.	To the Gods of the Underworld. · · · · Alpinus Classicianus. Found in Postern Row, Tower Hill. (<i>British Museum.</i>)

APPENDIX

..... VS ...	A suggested reading is:	
..... IM ...	M. RVSTICVS FILIAE	On a sculptured sar-
MERITIS EIVS	CARISSIMAE PRO	cophagus found at
	MERITIS EIVS	Clapton in 1867.
	but only the last line can be	(<i>Guildhall Museum.</i>)
	regarded as certain, the rest	
	being somewhat guesswork.	

..... CVLAR	Found in Greenwich Park.
..... IATVS	(<i>British Museum.</i>)
vR	Marble fragment found in
V-II	Philpot Lane.
	(<i>British Museum.</i>)
IV	
FV	IIA ^D CAV
M	(<i>Guildhall Museum.</i>)
M I	Purbeck marble.
PRIM	Found in Cloak Lane, 1846.
VIX	(<i>British Museum.</i>)
E N · EN	
· FI	Found in London Wall.
XV	(<i>British Museum.</i>)
SVP	Fragment of marble.
	Found on Tower Hill, in buttress
	of Wall of London.
	(<i>Lost.</i>)

On a Silver Ingot—

EX OFFE	From the works (or refinery)
HONORINI	of Felix Honorinus.
	Found at the Tower of London.
	(<i>British Museum.</i>)

On Pewter Cakes—

Chi-Rho	{ SYAGЯ }	
monogram and	{ SYAG }	= 3 different forms of maker's stamp.
	{ SYAGRI }	
		Found in the Thames at Battersea.
		(<i>British Museum.</i>)

Stamps on Roofing Tiles—

Complete $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \boxed{\text{PP BR}} \\ \boxed{\text{TP} \cdot \text{FC}} \\ \boxed{\text{P} \cdot \text{PR} \cdot \text{BR}} \end{array} \right.$ (*British and Guildhall Museums.*)

Incomplete $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \dots \text{BR} \cdot \text{LON} \\ \text{P BR LO} / \\ \text{PoI bR LOON} \end{array} \right.$ Roach Smith also gives—
 PRB · LON
 P · BRI · LON
 P · PR · LON

Complete $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{PP} \cdot \text{BR} \cdot \text{LON} \\ \text{PRR}^{\text{T}} \text{LON} \end{array} \right.$ (*Ransom Collection. Dispersed now partly at Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge.*)

GRAFFITI FOUND IN LONDON

On a Brick—

AVSTALIS
DIBVS VIII
VAGATVR SIB
COTIDIM

Austalis goes off on his own every day for (?) a week.

The figures VIII have been misread as XIII or XIII.

Found in Warwick Lane, Newgate Street.
 (*Guildhall Museum.*)

On Samian Vessels—Type 18 *ATTVI*
 „ 33 *FELICVLA*
 „ 18 *AVNIIIV^R MARTIALIS*
 „ 33 *PIITRONI* (*Petronius*)
 „ 18 *PAVLLVS*
 „ 18 *VERECVNDVS*

On Amphora—*VPRILIIIS*

This short list of graffiti is by no means complete, many others have been found and are in private hands or have been lost.

ROMAN OBJECTS DISCOVERED IN LONDON ARE TO
BE SEEN IN THE FOLLOWING MUSEUMS AND
PRIVATE COLLECTIONS:—

BRITISH MUSEUM, Bloomsbury, London, W.C.

GUILDHALL MUSEUM, City of London, E.C.

LONDON MUSEUM, Lancaster House, St James's, S.W.

GOLDSMITHS' HALL, Foster Lane, London, E.C.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY—Chapter-House.

PHENIX ASSURANCE COMPANY'S OFFICES in King William
Street, E.C.

GUARDIAN ASSURANCE COMPANY'S OFFICES in King William
Street, E.C.

LONDON COMMERCIAL SALE ROOMS, Mincing Lane, E.C.

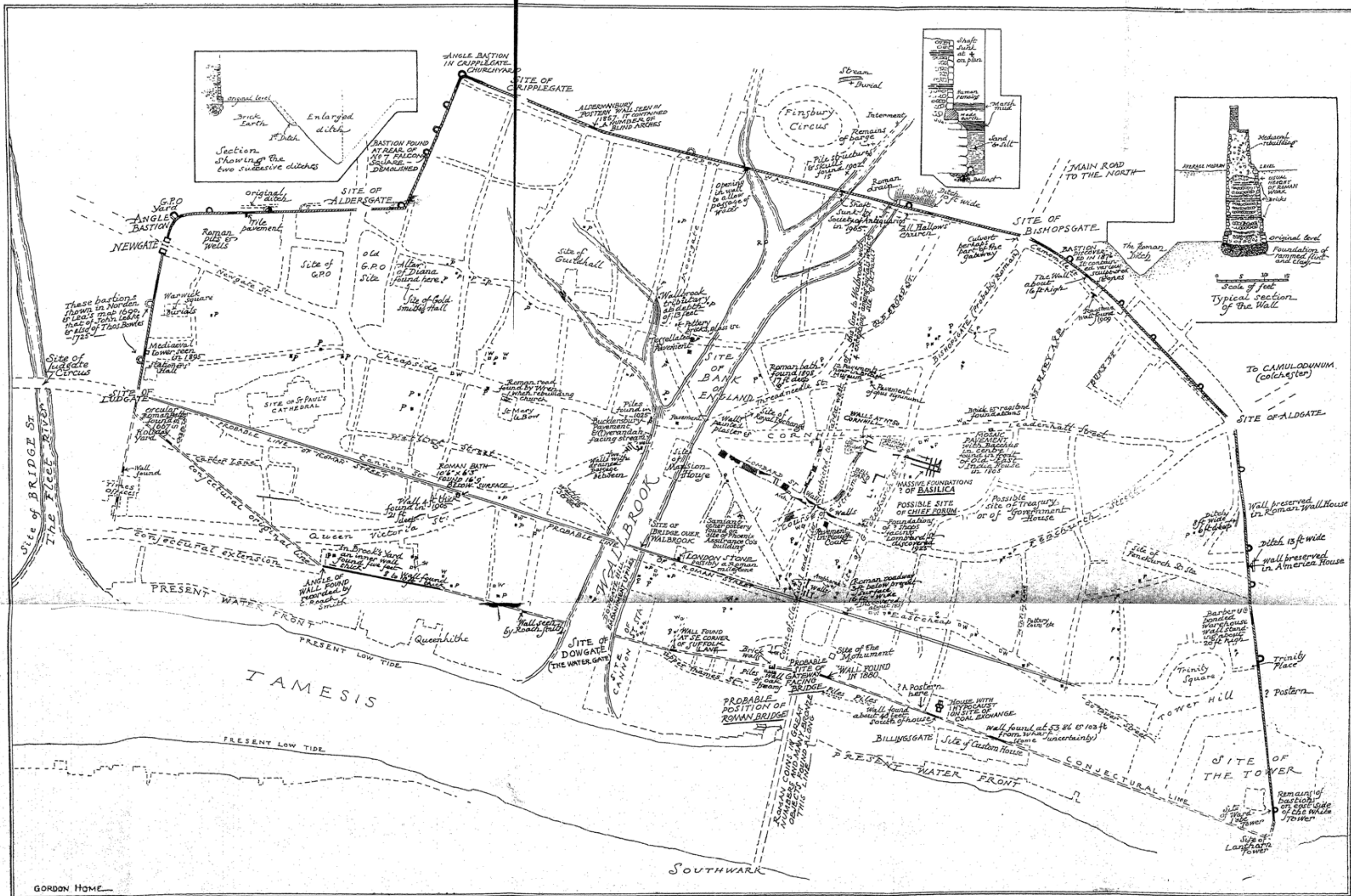
OVERSEAS BANK, Gracechurch Street, E.C.

ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL—Library.

CAMBRIDGE—Museum of Archæology and Ethnology.

OXFORD—Sculptured Stone among Arundellian Marbles.

CAERLEON MUSEUM, near Newport, Mon. (Bronze figure.)



100

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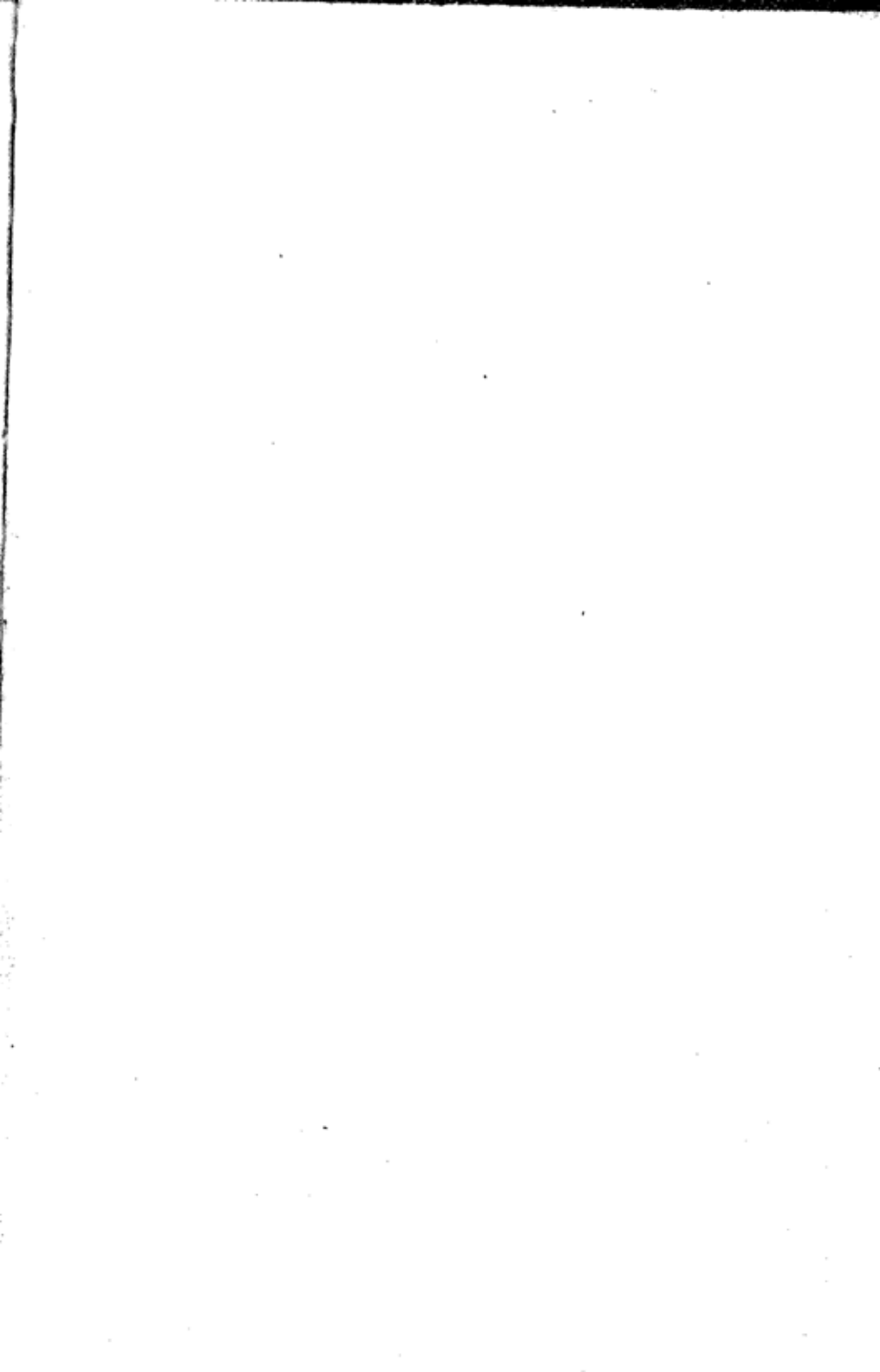
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